

THE  
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EDITORS

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GEORGE HARRIS, EDWARD Y. HINCKS,

*Professors in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass., with the  
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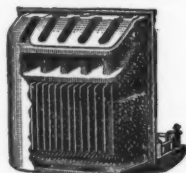
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POSSIBLE LIMITATIONS OF THE ELECTIVE  
SYSTEM.<sup>1</sup>

II.

THE preceding paper has sufficiently discussed the impossible limitations of the elective system, and has shown with some minuteness the grounds of their impossibility. The methods there examined are the only ones suggested by my critics. They all agree in this, that they seek to narrow the scope of choice. They try to combine with it a hostile factor, and they differ merely in their mode of combination. The first puts a restraining check before election; the second puts one by its side; the third makes the two inseparable by allowing nothing to be chosen which is not first prescribed. The general purpose of all these methods is mine also. Election must be limited. Unchartered choice is licentious and self-destructive. I quarrel with them only because the modes of effecting their purpose tend to produce results of a transient and inappropriate sort. The aim of education, as I conceive it, is to spiritualize the largest possible number of persons, that is, to teach them how to do their own thinking and willing, and to do it well. But these methods effect something widely different. They either aristocratize where they should democratize, or they belittle where they should mature, or else they professionalize where they should humanize. A common trouble besets them all: the limiting authority is placed in external and arbitrary juxtaposition to the personal initiative which it professes to support. It should grow out of this initiative and be its interpreter and realization. By limitation of choice the proposers of these schemes appear to mean

<sup>1</sup> This article closes the discussion introduced by Professor Palmer in the November number (1885) of the *Review*, and is the final answer of the author to his critics.—ED.

making choice less. I mean fortifying it, keeping it true to itself, making it more. Control that diminishes the quantity of choice is one thing; control that raises the quality, quite another. How important is this distinction and how frequently it is forgotten! Words like "limitation," "control," "authority," "obedience," are words of majesty, but words also of doubtful import. They carry a freight of wisdom or of folly, according to the end towards which they steer. In order to sanction or discard limitations which induce obedience, we must bear that end in mind. Let us stop a moment, and see that we have it in mind now.

Old educational systems are often said to have erred by excess of authority. I could not say so. The elective system, if it is to possess the future, must become as authoritative as they. More accurately we say that their authority was of a wrong sort. A father may exercise an authority over his child no less directive than that of the master over the slave; but the father is trying to accomplish something which the master disregards; the father hopes to make the will of another strong, the master to make it weak; the father commands what the child himself would wish, had he sufficient experience. The child's obedience accordingly enlightens, steadies, invigorates his independent will. Invigoration is the purpose of the command. The authority is akin — secretly akin — to the child's own desires. No alien power intervenes, as when a slave obeys. Here a foreign will thwarts the slave's proper motions. Over against his own legitimate desires, the desire of a totally different being appears and claims precedence. Obedience like this brings no ennoblement. The oftener a child obeys, the less of a child is he; the oftener a slave, the more completely he is a slave. Roughly to say, then, that submission to authority is healthy for a college boy argues a mental confusion. There are two kinds of authority, — the authority of moral guidance, and the authority of repressive control; parental authority, respecting and vivifying the individual life and thus continually tending to supersede itself, and masterly authority, whose command, out of relation to the obeyer's wish, tends ever to bring the obedient into bondage. Which shall college authority be? Authority is necessary, ever-present authority. If the young man's choice is to become a thing of worth, it must be encompassed with limitations. But as the need of these limitations springs from the imperfections of choice, so should their aim be to perfect choice, not to repress it. To impose limitations which do not ultimately enlarge the youth they bind is to make the means of education "oblige against its main end."

This moral authority is what the new education seeks. To a casual eye, the colleges of to-day seem to be growing disorganized; a closer view shows construction taking place, but taking place along the lines of the vital distinction just pointed out. Men are striving to bring about a germane and ethical authority in the room of the baser mechanical authorities of the past. Here, then, is a clue which, if followed up, will lead us away from impossible limitations of the elective system, and conduct us at length to the possible, nay, to the inevitable ones. As the elective principle is essentially ethical, its limitations, if helpfully congruous, must be ethical too. They must be simply the means of bringing home to the young chooser the sacred conditions of choice, which conditions, if I rightly understand them, may compactly be entitled those of intentionality, information, and persistence. To secure these conditions, limitations exist. In the very nature of choice, such conditions are implied. Choice is sound as they prevail, whimsical as they diminish. An education which lays stress on the elective principle is bound to lay stress on these conditions also. It cannot slip over into lazy ways of letting its students drift, and still look for credit as an elective system. People will distrust it. That is why they distrust Harvard to-day. The objections brought against the elective system of Harvard are in reality not leveled against the elective system at all. They are directed against its bastard brother, *laissez-faire*. Objectors suspect that the conditions of choice which I have named are not fulfilled. They are not fulfilled, I confess, or rather I stoutly maintain. To come anywhere near fulfilling them requires long time and study, and action unimpeded by a misconceiving community. Both time and study Harvard has given, — has given largely. The records of scholarship and deportment which I exhibited a year ago show in how high a degree Harvard has already reached those conditions which remove from choice the capricious, ignorant, and unsteadfast characteristics which rightly bring it into disrepute. But much remains to do, and in that doing we are hampered by the fact that a portion of the public is still looking in wrong directions. It cannot get over its hankering after the delusive modes of limitation which I have discussed. It does not persistently see that at present the proper work of education is the study of means by which self-direction may be rendered safe. Leaders of education themselves see this but dimly, as the papers of my critics naïvely show. Until choice was frankly accepted as the fit basis for the direction of a person by a person, its fortifying limitations could

not be studied. Now they must be studied, now that the old methods of autocratic control are breaking down. As a moral will comes to be recognized as the best sort of steam power, the modes of generating that power acquire new claims to attention. Henceforth the training of the will must be undertaken by the elective system as an integral part of its discipline.

I am not so presumptuous as to attempt to prophesy the precise forms which methods of moral guidance will ultimately take. Moral guidance is a delicate affair. Its spirit is more important than its procedure. Flexibility is its strength. Methods final, rigid, and minute do not belong to it. Nor can it afford to forget the one great truth of *laissez-faire*, that wills which are to be kept fresh and vigorous will not bear much looking after. Time, too, is an important factor in the shaping of moral influences. Experiments now in progress at Harvard and elsewhere must discriminate safe from unsafe limitations. Leaving then to the future the task of showing how wide the scope of maturing discipline may become, I will merely try to sketch the main lines along which experiments are now proceeding, I will give a few illustrative examples of what is being done and why, and I will state somewhat at large how, in my judgment, more is yet to be accomplished. To make the matter clear a free exposition shall be given of the puzzling headings already named; that is, I will first ramblingly discuss the limitations on choice which may deepen the student's intentionality of aim; secondly, those which increase his information in regard to means; and thirdly, those which may strengthen his persistence in a course once chosen.

That intentionality should be cultivated, I need not spend many words in explaining. All acknowledge that without a certain degree of it choice is impossible. Many assert also that boys come to college with no clear intentions, not knowing what they want, waiting to be told; for such, it is said, an elective system is manifestly absurd. I admit the fact. It is true. The majority of the freshmen whom I have known in the last seventeen years have been, at entrance, deficient in serious aims. But from this fact I draw a conclusion quite opposite to the one suggested. It is election, systematized election, which these boys need. For when we say a young student has no definite aims, we imply that he has never become sufficiently interested in any given intellectual line to have acquired the wish to follow that line farther. Such a state of things is lamentable, and certainly shows that prescribed methods — the proper methods, in my judgment, for the school years



— have proved inadequate. It is useless to continue them into years confessedly less suited to their exercise. Perhaps it is about equally useless to abandon the ill-formed boy to unguided choice. Prescription says, "This person is unfit to choose, keep him so;" *laissez-faire* says, "If he is unfit to choose, let him perish;" but a watchful elective system must say, "Granting him to be unfit, if he is not spoiled, I will fit him." And can we fit him? I know well enough that indifferent teachers incline to shirk the task. They like to divide pupils into the deceptive classes of good and bad, meaning by the former those who intend to work, and by the latter those who intend not to. But we must get rid of indifferent teachers. Teachers with enthusiasm in them soon discover that the two classes of pupils I have named may as well be dismissed from consideration. Where aims have become definite, a teacher has little more to do. The boy who means to work will get learning under the poorest teacher and the worst system; while the boy who means not to work may be forced up to the Pierian spring, but will hardly be made to drink. A vigorous teacher does not assume intention to be ready-made. He counts it his continual office to help in making it. On the middle two quarters of a class he spends his hardest efforts, on students who are friendly to learning but not impassioned for it, on those who like the results of study but like tennis also, and popularity, and cigars, and slackness. The culture of these weak wills is the problem of every college. Here are unintentional boys waiting to be turned into intentional men. What limitations on intellectual and moral vagrancy will help them forward?

The chief limitation, the one underlying all others, the one which no clever contrivance can ever supersede, is vitalized teaching. Suitable subjects, attractively taught, awake lethargic intention as nothing else can. An elective system, as even its enemies confess, enormously stimulates the zeal of teachers. It consequently brings to bear on unawakened boys influences of a strangely quickening character. When I hear a man trained under the old methods of prescription say, "At the time I was in college I could not have chosen studies for myself, and I do not believe my son can," I see, and am not surprised to see, that he does not understand what forces the elective system sets astir. So powerful an influence have these forces over both teachers and pupils, that questions of hard and easy studies do not, as outsiders are apt to suppose, seriously disturb the formation of sound intentions. The many leaders in education whose opinions on election

I quoted in my previous paper agree that the new modes tend to sobriety and intentionality of aim. When Professor Ladd speaks of "the unexpected wisdom and manliness of the choices already made" in the first year of election at New Haven, he well expresses the gratified surprise which every one experiences on perceiving for the first time that planted in the very constitution of the elective system there is a sort of limitation on wayward choice. This limitation seems to me, as Professor Ladd says he found it,<sup>1</sup> a tolerable preventive of choices directly aimed at ease. In a community devoted to athletics, base ball is not played because it is "soft," and foot-ball avoided on account of its difficulty. A similar state of things must be brought about in studies. In a certain low degree it has come about already. As election breeds new life in teaching, the old slovenly habit of liking best what costs least begins to disappear. Easy courses will exist and ought to exist. Prescribed colleges, it is often forgotten, have more of them than elective colleges. The important matter is, that they fall to the right persons. Where everything is prescribed, students who do not wish easy studies are still obliged to take them. Under election, soft courses may often be pursued with advantage. A student whose other courses largely depend for their profit on the amount of private reading or of laboratory practice accomplished in connection with them is wise in choosing one or more in which the bulk of the work is taken by the teacher. I do not say that soft courses are always selected with these wise aims in view. Many I know are not. We have our proper share of hardened loafers — "tares in our sustaining corn" — who have an unerring instinct as to where they can most safely settle. But large numbers of the men in soft courses are there to good purpose, and I maintain that the superficial study of a subject, acquainting one with broad outlines, is not necessarily a worthless study. At Harvard to-day I believe we have too few such superficial courses. As I look over the Elective Pamphlet, and note the necessarily varying degrees of difficulty in the studies announced there, I count but six which can, with any justice, be entitled soft courses; and several of these must be reckoned by anybody an inspiration to the students who pursue them. There is a tendency in the elective

<sup>1</sup> "Doubtless some have carried out the intention of making everything as soft as possible for themselves. But the choices, in fact, do not as yet show the existence of any such intention in any considerable number of cases; they show rather the very reverse." — Professor Ladd in *The New Englander*, January, 1885, p. 119.



system, as I have shown elsewhere, to reduce the number of soft courses somewhat below the desirable number.

I insist, therefore, that under a pretty loose elective system boys are little disposed to intentionally vicious choices. My fears look in a different direction. I do not expect depravity, but I want to head off aimless trifling. I agree with the opponents of election in thinking that there is danger, especially during the early years of college life, that righteous intention may not be distinct and energetic. Boys drift. Inadequate influences induce their decisions. The inclinations of the clique in which a young man finds himself are, without much thought, accepted as his own. Heedlessness is the young man's bane. It should not be mistaken for vice. The two are different. A boy who will enter a dormitory at twelve o'clock at night, and go to the third story whistling and beating time on the banisters, certainly seems a brutish person; but he is ordinarily a kind enough fellow, capable of a good deal of self-sacrifice when brought face to face with need. He simply does not think. So it is in study: there, too, he does not think. Now in college a boy should learn perpetually to think; and an excellent way of helping him to learn is to ask him often what he is thinking about. The object of the questioning should not be to thwart the boy's aims, rather to insure that these are in reality his own. Essentially his to the last they should remain, even though they may not be intrinsically the best. Young persons, much more than their elders, require to talk over plans from time to time with an experienced critic, in order to learn by degrees the difficult art of planning. By such talk intentionality is fortified. There is much of this talk already; talk of younger students with older, talk with wise persons at home, and more and more every year with the teachers of the courses left and the courses entered. All this is good. Haphazard modes breed an astonishing average of choices that possess a meaning. The waste of a *laissez-faire* system comes nowhere near the waste of a prescribed. But what is good when compared with a bad thing may be poor when compared with excellence itself. We must go on. A college, like a man, must always be saying, "Never was I so good as to-day, and never again will I be so bad." We must welcome criticisms more than praises, and seek after our weak points as after hid treasures. The elective system seems to me weak at present through lacking organized means of bringing the student and his intentions face to face. Intentions grow by being looked at. At the English universities a young man

on entering a college is put in charge of a special tutor, without whose consent he can do little either in the way of study or of personal management.<sup>1</sup> Dependence so extreme is perhaps better suited to an infant school than to an American college; and even in England, where respectful subservience on the part of the young has been cultivated for generations, the system is losing ground. Since the tutors were allowed to marry and to leave the college home, tutorial influence has been changing. In most American colleges twenty-five years ago there were officers known as class tutors, to whom, in case of need, a student might turn. Petty permissions were received from these men, instead of from a mechanical central office. So far as this plan set personal supervision in the place of routine it was, in my eyes, good. But the relation of a class tutor to his boys was usually one of more awe than friendship. At Johns Hopkins University a board of advisers has been instituted, to some member of which each student is assigned at entrance. The adviser is to stand *in loco parentis* to his charges. The value of such adjustments depends on the nature of the parental tie. If the relation is worked so as to stimulate the student's independence, it is good; if so as to discharge him from responsibility, it unfits for the life that is to follow. At Harvard special students not candidates for a degree have recently been put in charge of a committee, to whom they are obliged to report their previous history and their plans of study for each succeeding year. It is the business of the committee to know at all times what their charges are doing. Something of this sort, I am convinced, will be demanded at no distant day, as a means of steadying all students in elective colleges. Large personal supervision need not mean diminution of freedom. A young man may possess his freedom more solidly if he recognizes an obligation to state and defend the reasons which induce his choice. For myself, I should be willing to make the functions of such advisory committees somewhat broad. As a college grows, the old ways of bringing about acquaintance between officers and students become impracticable. But the need of personal acquaintance, unhappily, does not cease. New ways should be provided. A boy dropped into the middle of a large college must not be lost to sight. He must be looked after. To allow the teacher's work of

<sup>1</sup> As the minute personal care given to individual students in the English universities is often and deservedly praised, I may as well say that it costs something. Oxford spends each year about \$2,000,000 on 2,500 men; Harvard, \$650,000 on 1,700.

instruction to become divorced from his pastoral, his priestly, function is to cheapen and externalize education. I would have every student in college supplied with somebody who might serve as a discretionary friend: and I should not think it a disadvantage that such an expectation of friendship would be as apt to better the instructor as the student.

Before leaving this part of my subject, I may mention a subordinate, but still valuable, means of limiting choice so as to increase its intentionality. The studies open to choice in the early years should be few and elementary. The significance of advanced courses cannot be understood till elementary ones are mastered, and immature choice should not be confused by many issues. At Harvard this mode of limitation is largely employed. Although the elective list for 1885-86 shows 172 courses, a freshman has hardly more than one eighth of these to choose from; in any given case this number will probably be reduced about one half by insufficient preparation or conflict of hours. Seemingly about a third of the list is offered to the average sophomore; but this amount is again cut down nearly one half by the operation of similar causes. The practice of hedging electives with qualifications is a growing one. It may well grow more. It offers guidance precisely at the point where it is most needed. It protects rational choice, and guards against many of the dangers which the foes of election justly dread.

A second class of limitations of the elective system, possible and friendly, springs from the need of furnishing the young elector ample information about that which he is to choose. The best intentions require judicious aim. If studies are taken in the dark, without right anticipation of their subject-matter, or in ignorance of their relation to other studies, small results follow. Here, I think it will be generally agreed, prescribed systems are especially weak. Their pupils have little knowledge beforehand of what a course is designed to accomplish. Work is undertaken blindly, minds consenting as little as wills. An elective system is impossible under such conditions. Its student must know when he chooses, what he chooses. He must be able to estimate whether the choice of Greek 5 will further his designs better than the choice of Greek 8.

At Harvard, methods of furnishing information are pretty fully developed. In May an elective pamphlet is issued, which announces everything that is to be taught in the college during the following year. Most departments, also, issue additional pamphlets,

describing with much detail the nature of their special courses, and the considerations which should lead a student to one rather than another. If the courses of a department are arranged properly, pursuing one gives the most needful knowledge about the available next. This knowledge is generally supplemented at the close of the year by explanations on the part of the instructor about the courses that follow. In the *Elective Pamphlet* a star, prefixed to courses of an advanced and specially technical character, indicates that the instructor must be privately consulted before these courses can be chosen. Consultations with instructors about all courses are frequent. That most effective means of distributing information, the talk of students, goes on unceasingly. With time, perhaps, means may be devised for informing a student more largely what he is choosing. The fullest information is desirable. That which is at present most needed is, I think, some rough indication of the relations of the several provinces of study to one another. Information of this sort is peculiarly hard to supply, because the knowledge on which it professes to rest cannot be precise and unimpeachable. We deal here with intricate problems, in regard to which experts are far from agreed, problems where the different point of view provided in the nature of each individual will rightly readjust whatever general conclusions are drawn. The old type of college had an easy way of settling these troublesome matters dogmatically, by voting, in open faculty-meeting, what should be counted the normal sequence of studies, and what their mixture. But as the votes of different colleges showed no uniformity, people have gradually come to perceive that the subject is one where only large outlines can distinctly be made out.<sup>1</sup> To these large outlines I think it important

<sup>1</sup> I may not have a better opportunity than this to clear up a petty difficulty which seems to agitate some of my critics. They say they want the degree of A. B. to mean something definite, while at present, under the elective system, it means one thing for John Doe, and something altogether different for his classmate, Richard Roe. That is true. Besides embodying the general signification that the bearer has been working four years in a way to satisfy college guardians, the stately letters do take on an individual variation of meaning for every man who wins them. They must do so as long as we are engaged in the formation of living persons. If the college were a factory, our case would be different. We might then offer a label which would keep its identity of meaning for all the articles turned out. Wherever education has been a living thing, the single degree has always contained this element of variety. The German degree is as diverse in meaning as ours. The degree of the English university is diverse, and more diverse for Honors men — the only ones who can properly be said to deserve it — than for inert Pass men. Degrees in this country have,

to direct the attention of undergraduates. In most German universities a course of "Encyclopädie" is offered, a course which gives in brief a survey of the sciences, and attempts to fix approximately the place of each in the total organization of knowledge. I am not aware that such a course exists in any American college. Indeed, there was hardly a place for it till dogmatic prescription was shaken. But if something of the kind were now established in the freshman year, our young men might be relieved of a certain intellectual short-sightedness, and the choices of one year might better keep in view those of the other three.

And now granting that a student has started with good intentions and is well informed about the direction where profit lies, still have we any assurance that he will push those intentions with a fair degree of tenacity through the distractions which beset his daily path? We need, indeed we must have, a third class of helpful limitations which may be influential over the persistent adhesion of our student to his chosen line of work. Probably this class of limitations is the most important and complex of all. To yield a paying return, study must be stuck to. A decision has little meaning unless the volition of to-day brings in its train a volition to-morrow. Self-direction implies such patient continuance in well-doing that only after persistence has become somewhat habitual can choice be called mature. To establish onward-leading habits, therefore, should be one of the chief objects in devising limitations of election. Only we must not mistake. We must look below the surface. Mechanical diligence often covers mental sloth. It is not habits of passive docility that are desirable, habits of timidity and uncriticising acceptance. Against forming these pernicious and easily acquired habits, it may be necessary even to erect barriers. The habit wanted is the habit of spontaneous attack. Prescription deadened this vital habit. It mechanized. His task removed, the student had little independent momentum. Election invigorates the springs of action. Formerly I did not see this, and I favored prescribed systems, thinking them systems of duty. That absence of an aggressive intellectual life from the first, had considerable diversity, college differing from college in requirement, and certainly student from student in attainment. That twenty-five years ago we were approaching too great uniformity in the signification of degrees, I suppose most educators now admit. That was a mechanical and stagnant period, and men have brought over from it to the more active days of the present ideals formed then. Precision of statement goes with figures, with etiquette, with military matters; but descriptions of the quality of persons must be stated in the round.

which prescribed studies induce, I, like many others, mistook for faithfulness. Experience has instructed me. I no longer have any question that for the average man sound habits of steady endeavor grow best in fields of choice. Emerson's words are words of soberness: —

“He that worketh high and wise  
Nor pauses in his plan,  
Will take the sun out of the skies  
Ere freedom out of man.”

Furthermore, in attempting to stimulate persistence, I believe we must ultimately rely on the rational interest in study which we can arouse and hold. Undoubtedly much can be done to save this interest from disturbance and to hold vacillating attention fixed upon it; but it, and it alone, is to be the driving force. Methods of college government must be reckoned wise as they push into the foreground the intrinsic charm of wisdom, mischievous as they hide it behind fidelity to technical demand. In other matters we readily acknowledge interest as an efficient force. We call it a force as broad as the worth of knowledge, and as deep as the curiosity of man. “Put your heart into your work,” we say, “if you will make it excellent.” A dozen proverbs tell that it is love that makes the world go round. Every employment of life springs from an underlying desire. The cricketer wants to win the game; the fisherman to catch fish; the farmer to gather crops; the merchant to make money; the physician to cure his patient; the student to become wise. Eliminate desire, put in its place allegiance to the rules of a game, and what, in any of these cases, would be the chance of persistent endeavor? It seems almost a truism to say that limitations of personal effort designed to strengthen persistency must be such as will heighten the wish and clear its path to its object.

Obvious as is the truth here presented, it seems in some degree to have escaped the attention of my critics. After showing that the grade of scholarship at Harvard steadily rises, that our students become more decorous and their methods of work less childish, I stated that, under an extremely loose mode of regulating attendance five sixths of the exercises were attended by all our men, worst and best, sick and well, most reckless and most discreet. Few portions of my obnoxious paper have occasioned a louder outcry. I am told of a neighboring college where the benches show but three per cent. of absentees. I wonder what the percentage is in Charlestown State Prison. Nobody doubts that at-



tendance will be closer if compelled. But the interesting question still remains, "Are students by such means learning habits of spontaneous regularity?" This question can be answered only when the concealing restraint is removed. It has been removed at Harvard, — in my judgment too largely removed, — and the great body of our students are seen to desire learning and to desire it all the time. Is it certain that the students of other colleges, if left with little or no restraint, would show a better record? The point of fidelity and regularity, it is said, is of supreme importance. So it is. But fidelity and regularity in study, not in attending recitations. If ever the Harvard system is perfected, so that students here are as eager for knowledge as the best class of German university men, I do not believe we shall see a lower rate of absence; only then, each absence will be used, as it is not at present, for a studious purpose. The modern teacher stimulates private reading, exacts theses, directs work in libraries. Pupils engaged in these things are not dependent on recitations as textbook school-boys are. The grade of higher education cannot rise much so long as the present extreme stress is laid on appearance in the class-room.

In saying this I would not be understood to defend the method of dealing with absences which has for some years been practiced at Harvard. I think the method bad. I have always thought it so, and have steadily favored a different system. The behavior of our students under a regulation so loose seems to me a striking testimony to the scholarly spirit prevalent here. As such I mentioned it in my first paper, and as such I would again call attention to it. But I am not satisfied with the present good results. I want to impress on every student that absence from the class-room can be justified by nothing short of illness or a scholarly purpose. For a gainful purpose the merchant is occasionally absent from his office; for a gainful purpose a scholar of mine may omit a recitation. But Smith can be absent profitably when Brown would meet with loss. I accordingly object to methods of limiting absence which exact the same numerical regularity of all. College records may look clean, yet students be learning little about duty. Limitation, in my judgment, should be so adjusted as to strengthen the man's personal adhesion to plans of daily study. Such limitations cannot be fixed by statute and worked by a single clerk. Moral discipline is not a thing to be supplied by wholesale. Professors must be individually charged with the oversight of their men. I should have excuses for occasional absence made to the

instructor, and I should expect him to count it a part of his work to see that the better purposes of his scholars did not grow feeble. A professor who exercised such supervisory power slackly would make his course the resort of the indolent; one who was overstringent would see himself deserted by indolent and earnest alike. My rule would be that no student be allowed to present himself at an examination who could not show his teacher's certificate that his attendance on daily work was satisfactory. Traditions in this country and in Germany are so different that I should have confidence in a method working well here though it worked ill there. At any rate, whenever it fell into decay, it could—a proviso necessary in all moral matters—be readjusted. A rule something like this the Harvard Faculty has recently adopted by voting that “any instructor, with the approval of the Dean, may at any time exclude from his course any student who in his judgment has neglected the work of the course.” Probably the amount of absence which has hitherto occurred at Harvard will under this vote diminish.

Suppose, then, by these limitations on a student's caprice we have secured his persistence in outward endeavor, still one thing more is needed. We have brought him bodily to a recitation room; but his mind must be there too, his aroused and active mind. Limitations that will secure this slippery part of the person are difficult to devise. Nevertheless, they are worth studying. Their object is plain. They are to lead a student to do something every day; to aid him to overcome those tendencies to procrastination, self-confidence, and passive absorption, which are the regular and calculable dangers of youth. They are to teach him how not to cram, to inspire him with respect for steady effort, and to enable him each year to find such effort more habitual to himself. These are hard tasks. The old education tried to meet them by the use of daily recitations, a plan not without advantages. The new education is preserving the valuable features of recitations by adopting and developing the *Seminar*. But recitations pure and simple have serious drawbacks. They presuppose a text-book, which, while it brings definiteness, brings also narrowness of view. The learner masters a book, not a subject. After-life has nothing analogous to the text-book. A struggling man wins what he wants from many books, from his own thought, from frequent consultations. Why should not a student be disciplined in the ways he must afterwards employ? Moreover, recitations have the disadvantage that no large number



of men can take part on any single day. The times of trial either become amenable to reckoning, or, in order to prevent reckoning, a teacher must resort to schemes which do not commend him to his class. Undoubtedly in recitation the reciter gains, but the gains of the rest of the class are small. The listeners would be more profited by instruction. An hour with an expert should carry students forward; to occupy it in ascertaining where they now stand is wasteful. For all these reasons there has been of late years a strong reaction against recitations. Lectures have been introduced, and the time formerly spent by a professor in hearing boys is now spent by boys in hearing a professor. Plainly in this there is a gain, but a gain which needs careful limitation if the student's persistence of work is to be retained. A pure lecture system is a broad road to ignorance. Students are entertained or bored, but at the end of a month they know little more than at the beginning. Lectures always seem to me an inheritance from the days when books were not. Learning — how often must it be said! — is not acceptance; it is criticism, it is attack, it is doing. An active element is everywhere involved in it. Personal sanction is wanted for every step. One who will grow wise must perform processes himself, not sit at ease and behold another's performance.

These simple truths are now tolerably understood at Harvard. There remain in the college few courses of pure recitations or of pure lectures. I wish all were forbidden by statute. In almost all courses, in one way or another, frequent opportunity is given the student to show what he is doing. In some, especially in elementary courses, lectures run parallel with a text-book. In some, theses, that is, written discussions, are exacted monthly, half-yearly, annually, in addition to examinations. In some, examinations are frequent. In some, a daily question, to be answered in writing on the spot, is offered to the whole class. Often, especially in philosophical subjects, the hour is occupied with debate between officer and students. More and more, physical subjects are taught by the laboratory, linguistic and historical by the library. In a living university a great variety of methods spring up, according to the nature of the subject and the personality of the teacher. Variety should exist. In constantly diversified ways each student should be assured that he is expected to be doing something all the time, and that somebody besides himself knows what he is doing. As yet this assurance is not attained. We can only claim to be working towards it. Every year we discover

some fresh limitation which will make persistence more natural, neglect more strange. I believe study at Harvard is to-day more interested, energetic, and persistent than it has ever been before. But that is no ground for satisfaction. A powerful college must forever be dissatisfied. Each year it must address itself anew to strengthening the tenacity of its students in their zeal for knowledge.

By the side of these larger limitations in the interest of persistency, it may be well to mention one or two examples of smaller ones which have the same end in view. By some provision it must be made difficult to withdraw from a study once chosen. Choice should be deliberate and then be final. It probably will not be deliberate unless it is understood to be final. A few weeks may be allowed for an inspection of a chosen course, but at the close of the first month's teaching the Harvard Faculty tie up their students and allow change only on petition and for the most convincing cause. An elective college which did not make changes of electives difficult would be an engine for discouraging intentionality and persistence.

I incline to think, too, that a regulation forbidding elementary courses in the later years would render our education more coherent. In this matter elective colleges have an opportunity which prescribed ones miss. In order to be fair to all the sciences, College Faculties are obliged to scatter fragments of them throughout the length and breadth of prescribed curricula. Twenty-five years ago every Harvard man waited till his senior year before beginning philosophy, acoustics, history, and political economy. To-day the fourteen other New England colleges, most of whom, like the Harvard of twenty-five years ago, offer a certain number of elective studies, still show senior years largely occupied with elementary studies. Five forbid philosophy before the senior year; eight, political economy; two, history; six, geology. Out of the seven colleges which offer some one of the eastern languages, all except Harvard oblige the alphabet to be learned in the senior year. Of the six which offer Italian or Spanish, Harvard alone permits a beginning to be made before the junior year, while two take up these languages for the first time in the senior year. In three New England colleges German cannot be begun till the junior year. In a majority, a physical subject is begun in the junior and another in the senior year. At Yale nobody but a senior can study chemistry. Such postponement, and by consequence such fragmentary work, may be necessary where early

college years are crowded with prescribed studies. But an elective system can employ its later years to better advantage. It can bring to a mature understanding the interests which freshmen and sophomores have already acquired. Elementary studies are not maturing studies. They do not make the fibre of a student firm. To studies of a solidifying sort the last years should be devoted. I should like to forbid seniors to take any elementary study whatever, and to forbid juniors all except philosophy, political economy, history, fine arts, Sanskrit, Hebrew, and law. Under such a rule we should graduate more men who would be first rate at something; and a man who is first rate at something is generally pretty good at anything.

Such, then, are a few examples of the ways in which choice may be limited so as to become strong. They are but examples, intended merely to draw attention to the kinds of limitation still possible. Humble ways they may seem, not particularly interesting to hear about; business methods one might call them. But by means of these and such as these the young scholar becomes clearer in intention, larger in information, hardier in persistence. In urging such means I shall be seen to be no thick and thin advocate of election. That I have never been. Originally a doubter, I have come to regard the elective system, that is, election under such limitations as I have described, as the safest — indeed as the only possible — course which education can now take. I advocate it heartily as a system which need not carry us too fast or too far in any one direction, as a system so inherently flexible that its own great virtues readily unite with those of an alien type. Under its sheltering charge the worthier advantages of both grouped and prescribed systems are attainable. I proclaim it, therefore, not as a popular cry nor as an educational panacea, but as a sober opportunity for moral and intellectual training. Limited as it is at Harvard, I see that it works admirably with the studious, stimulatingly with those of weaker will, not unendurably with the depraved. These are great results. They cannot be set aside by calling them the outcome of "individualism." In a certain sense they are. But "individualism" is an uncertain term. In every one of us there is a contemptible individuality, grounded in what is ephemeral and capriciously personal. Systematic election, as I have shown, puts limitations on this. But there is a noble individuality which should be the object of our fostering care. Nothing that lends it strength and fineness can be counted trivial. To

form a true individuality is, indeed, the ideal of the elective system. Let me explain my conception of that ideal.

George Herbert, praising God for the physical world which He has made, says that in it "all things have their will, yet none but thine." Such a free harmony between thinking man and a Lord of his thought it is the office of education to bring about. At the start it does not exist. The child is aware of his own will, and he is aware of little else. He imagines that one pleasing fancy may be willed as easily as another. As he matures, he discovers that his will is effective when it accords with the make of the world and ineffective when it does not. This discovery, bringing as it does increased respect for the make of the world, and even for its maker, degrades or ennobles according as the facts of the world are now viewed as restrictive finalities or as an apparatus for larger self-expression. Seeing the power of that which is not himself, a man may become passively receptive, and say, "Then I am to have no will of my own;" or he may become newly energetic, knowing that though he can have no will of his separate own, yet all the power of God is his if he will but understand. A man of the latter sort is spiritually educated. Much still remains to be done in understanding special laws, and with each fresh understanding a fresh possibility of individual life is disclosed. But the worth of the whole process lies in the man's honoring his own will, but honoring it only as it grows strong through accordance with the will of God.

Now into our colleges comes a mixed multitude made up of all the three classes named: the childish, who imagine they can will anything; the docile, so passive in the presence of an ordered world that they have little individual will left; the spiritually-minded or original, who with strong interests of their own seek to develop these through living contact with truths which they have not made. Our educational modes must meet them all, respecting their wills wherever wise, and teaching the feeble to discriminate fanciful from righteous desires. For carrying forward such a training the elective system seems to me to have peculiar aptitudes. What I have called its limitations will be seen to be spiritual assistances. To the further invention of such there is no end. A watchful patience is the one great requisite, patience in directors, instructed criticism on the part of the public, and a brave expression of confidence when confidence is seen to have been earned.

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## THE THEOLOGY OF MISSION EPOCHS.

"It is with the deepest humility and consciousness of human limitations that we can venture to use any such phrase as 'divine purpose and plan,'" says a contemporary theologian. Yet our theme, which we would approach reverently, contemplates no less than a glance at the divine method in the extension of the kingdom of righteousness. To deepen the humility with which we generalize upon so grand a theme, it may be recalled that there have been but two great mission epochs. One of these was the apostolic and post-apostolic period; the other, still further suggesting modesty, is the age in which we live, and are not, perhaps, disinterested actors or judges. Still, it may be claimed that we have an historical perspective of sufficient sweep, and historic facts of the requisite character and completeness, to warrant our conclusions. Herein we differ from even the wisest of earlier days. Near the beginning of that first great mission epoch, certain of the apostles were brought before the Sanhedrim, charged with preaching in the name of Jesus. "But there stood up one in the council, a Pharisee named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, had in honor of all the people," and said, "Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will be overthrown; but if it is of God, ye will not be able to overthrow them; lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God." Gamaliel questioned, as we are questioning, as to the divine relationship to the work of extending righteousness; but whereas he was unable to see that those apostles were God's messengers, we, from our more commanding outlook, both know that they were, and that their teachings and their spirit expressly characterize periods of progress and extension in the divine kingdom. There had come then a spiritual crisis, one of the great uplifts of human history, when the world was passing rapidly, as up the slopes of a terrace, to a new plane of its life. The distinctive feature of that grand spiritual uplift was the overflowing of spiritual life from the narrow bounds of the Jewish nation out over the broad world, — "Jordan overflowing all its banks," we may call it. And the men who wrought the work at that crisis were distinguished, more than for anything else, by their breaking away from the narrow life and restricted thought of their little nation, and reaching out to share and to mould the larger life of

the world. It was little wonder that that doctor of the law, with his life-long predilection for Jewish narrowness, was puzzled to know whether or not such men were in line with God. We might not ourselves feel assured did not four thousand years of human progress unroll before us. "Forty centuries look down upon you," said Napoleon, encouraging his soldiers to battle beneath the Pyramids. Forty centuries look down upon us, emboldening us to grapple our problem.

We begin our study two thousand years before Christ. The world then knew little of God. Egypt and Chaldea, with all their material greatness, had absolutely no germ of spiritual promise. Whatever of divine light gleamed here and there, it was not sufficient to keep men in the path of virtue, nor from sinking everywhere into greater corruption. Where and how should a beginning be made toward their recovery to God and righteousness? Not by commissioning another preacher like Noah to go through the earth, for the condition of society would not yet warrant it. Two thousand years must elapse before such work could be successful. Meantime there must be funded somewhere among men a grand reserve of spiritual power, by which, when undertaken, the work might be sustained. Not that the Son of God was not yet prepared to save men,—had not the Lamb been slain from the foundation of the world, and was not his sacrificial love waiting to manifest itself?—and not that the Spirit of God might not be striving with men, in all the intervening centuries, and among all the nations; but in his work of redemption God makes use of human agencies, to which He commits his oracles, and such an agency had yet to be prepared, for there was none on earth. And not only must a people be constituted to whom it would be safe to intrust the divine message; they must also become, as compared with all the other nations, a great reservoir of moral and spiritual power, so that when they carried forth the gospel of redemption it might be, not with the halting and uncertain steps of isolated and unsustained men, but with the momentum given by centuries of faith in God, and by the consciousness of that spiritual reserve behind them. Accordingly God called Abram, the Hebrew, out of Mesopotamia into the land of Canaan. There, by strange providences, He raised up a people, which He isolated from the surrounding nations. The laws and observances given them all tended to impress upon them that they, and they only, were the chosen of God. What became of the outside world was to them of no importance, hardly a matter of



thought save as they went to war with them, or were from time to time inveigled by their idolatries. So far were they from being a missionary nation, that we hear of but one man in all their long history who preached to Gentiles; and that was Jonah, who was driven to his unheard-of task by miraculous manifestations, and was sore displeased when his preaching led to the repentance and preservation of the Ninevites. But, under this restrictive training, they did become a people whose God was the Lord, to whom idolatry was abomination, who did believe in righteousness and in things spiritual and eternal, and among the choicer spirits of whom hearts were prepared for the reception of the Son of God. In other words, they had, in the fullness of time, established in the earth a spiritual centre, had accumulated a moral and spiritual reserve, such that there was now only needed the proclamation of that redemption for which the ages had waited, and the outpouring of the Holy Ghost upon the preachers, for men to go forth, not now like Noah, without making a convert, but conquering the nations for Christ. God had reared up in the earth a Mount Zion, that out of Zion might go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And now Jordan was to overflow all its banks all the time of harvest. Rome and Greece and Egypt and Chaldea, seemingly forgotten of God, had not been forgotten, and God's love for them had not at any time been wanting. But until now men filled with the Holy Ghost, and sustained by the prayers of a holy church strong in faith, had not been found; and without these to proclaim the redemption, of what use to them, humanly speaking, had been the coming of the Son of God? Now in the fullness of time these were ready, and not Judea alone but all the nations were to rejoice in the salvation of God.

Gamaliel, as we saw, did not know of this method of God's working, — that He had been heaping up favors upon Israel only that in due time they might abound more exceedingly to the nation, — and so was not certain of the success of this outreaching, all-embracing, positive gospel of the apostles. We, seeing that it was of God, feel that it could not help but succeed, as it did, in winning great multitudes to the faith, and leavening all the then accessible world with Christianity. This outreaching, all-embracing gospel of the apostles, we have called it. Surely it cannot be needful to-day to substantiate these words; to recall their commission: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation;" to listen to Paul, upon Mars' Hill, declaring that

God "commandeth all men everywhere to repent;" or to cite the letters of the great apostle, declaring that "the grace of God hath appeared, bringing salvation to all men," or the letter to the Hebrews, declaring of Jesus "that by the grace of God he should taste death for every man." It goes without saying, that apostolic preaching, and the apostolic theology which underlay their preaching, were of the outreaching, inclusive type.

Why, then, we ask, did such preaching cease, and such theology give way to a different type, before all had been included under the Christian sway? Why did the faith pause in Western Asia and Europe, and then even shrink back from regions which it had conquered, instead of bursting the barriers of deserts and mountains, and winning all Asia and Africa and the islands of the Orient? Because, we reply, it is God's method to work through human agencies; and now, as in the earlier period of the redemptive work, this human element proved sadly limited. True, there had been funded in that people of Israel resources of spiritual power which availed the church for three centuries, long after the Jewish nation had ceased, as such, to exist. But all human resources, however large, come to an end. The first missionaries, sustained by a church that felt behind it the God of Jacob, and felt itself the inheritor of all the wealth stored up on Mount Zion, went forth with undaunted zeal, their one thought that Christ died for all, and that by his grace all men, Jew and Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond and free, should hear of his gospel and live. But generations passed. The funded resources of the chosen nation and the holy church ran lower and lower, until at last, like the waters of an intermittent spring, they ceased to overflow to those without. Jordan ceased to overflow all its banks, and it ceased to be a time of harvest. This was not because God's grace was limited. Had men still been found to carry the gospel with apostolic zeal, it would have proved as availing at the sources of the Nile and the Niger as at the sources of the Jordan, by the far-off China Sea as by the Sea of Galilee. What was limited, depleted beyond ability to do aggressive work outside its own confines, was the spiritual power of the church, made up of men whose spiritual capacities were finite. It need not be claimed that this power was absolutely curtailed, — probably it was not; but relatively to the field which it occupied, it had declined beyond the point of aggressive work. Not a little of the power which might have been given to evangelizing the nations was diverted to the theological contests of the fourth and fifth centuries. Indeed, the cessation



of the rapid spread of the faith was nearly contemporaneous with the exact formulating of the orthodox doctrines in precise creeds; a work which needed to be done, truly, but which was the mark of a spiritual decline, of a church getting ready for an age of pause and recuperation, rather than of a church of apostolic vigor. But the creed-making diversion was not the cause, it was only a symptom of the decline in aggressive power. The real cause was the power of the ever-increasing worldliness, against which the church had contended valiantly, but before which it had now to pause for breath. God's grace was in no wise depleted; the Spirit was yet ready to go forth with men and bless their labors; but the element of human spiritual energy, which God's method of advancing his kingdom always involves, had now, so to speak, been spread so thin over those heathen millions that there was nowhere depth and vigor enough to advance. The stream that flowed from Mount Zion was like the rivers which flow from Mount Lebanon into the plain of Damascus. They leap down the mountain sides in headlong torrents, and push their way for a time with vigor, not only making their banks luxuriant, but rushing ever forward to new fields. But the expanse is ever wider, and the desert soil drier, and the streams become rivulets, and the rivulets disappear in the sands. The rivers have not ceased to flow, but all their waters are absorbed in the nearer plain. They cannot reach the regions beyond, until the returning sun again shines on snow-capped Lebanon, and mightier torrents rush down its slopes. So the stream that was making glad the city of God in the early Christian centuries found its natural limit, and for many following centuries watered only Southern and Western Europe. How long would it be before the Sun of Righteousness should again appear with power in his church, filling to overflowing its springs of spiritual life, and bringing a new era of apostolic zeal for the conversion of the world? No one could foretell. The world had once waited two thousand years while the Jewish church had done only internal work. Might it not have to wait as long for the Christian church?

And, meantime, what was to be the training of this church? Singularly enough, it was not a little like that of the old chosen people. From first to last, from the cessation of the territorial conquests of Christianity until the new apostolic era dawned with this century, everything tended to shut the church up within itself and narrow its sympathies, like those of the Jews, to its own lands, if not to its own fold. There were, of course, local and excep-

tional centres of aggressive life: for example, the Irish church of the sixth century, sending its missionaries to Scotland and to Central Europe; Rome, under Gregory, sending Augustine and his monks to pagan England; the English church of the eighth century sending Boniface into Germany, and the monasteries of the ninth century sending Anschar and his successors to the conversion of Scandinavia. Still it was true that the great work of the church for above a thousand years was internal, its thoughts and prayers seldom recognizing the great world without, save as it drew swords now and then with the Saracens, as the old Jews had fought with Philistines and Assyrians. Its life was thus turned in upon itself by a succession of providences as marked as any in the history of Israel. The decline in civilization, and so in commercial intercourse with the outside world, which followed the inroads of the Northern nations, played its part. In the East, the subordination of the church to the half pagan state led to the hardening of Christianity into a mere intellectual and tritheistic orthodoxy, which paralyzed all aggressive effort, and opened the field to the at least monotheistic Mohammedans.

But in the West, where spiritual life still abounded, the chief restrictive elements were the Latin theology and Roman ecclesiasticism. The foundation of this theology, laid not in Rome but in the province of North Africa, lacked the breadth given to theology by contemporary Greeks, Tertullian, the first Latin writer, suggesting to us rather an old Hebrew prophet than a Christian apostle. And this Judaistic beginning was prophetic. For the hand that had given Moses to Israel soon gave to the Latin church its Augustine. Augustine! a man of the ages, but still a North African, and a worthy successor of Tertullian. He formulated the doctrines of salvation of the Latin church, not upon the broad conceptions of Christ as a universal Saviour, which obtained in the earlier church, but upon those rigid and narrowing conceptions of election and irresistible grace, and reprobation and utter helplessness, which we now sum up under the name of Calvinism, — a theology from which the Western church has never fairly escaped until within the memory of man. Whatever of gratitude the church may owe to Augustine and Calvin — and it does owe much — the debt is not for what they did to enlarge its sympathies and extend its work among the heathen, but for what they did to intensify and elevate its interior life. For, so long as those two minds dominated, to the exclusion of truths which they had forgotten, the apostolic era was compelled to wait.

Then, secondly, under the double influence of the monastic institution and of the power of the papacy, arose that peculiarly restrictive doctrine of the church, in accordance with which it was virtually limited to those in orders. A popular picture of the church of the Middle Ages represents a ship in full sail for the heavenly port, on board of which no one is to be seen but the clergy, though one good-natured monk has hold of a rope by which he is dragging along a poor struggling wretch, presumably a layman, in the water. Such ecclesiastical ideas were hardly more adapted than the Augustinian theology to promote foreign missions and the conversion of the world. We have no reflection to make upon either of these, but we recognize clearly what was and what was not their mission. It was not, any more than was that of the Mosaic system, to carry the gospel to the whole creation; it was to affect in some way the interior life of the church. Beyond question both the theology and the ecclesiasticism gave to churchmen a certain assurance of the divine guidance, and a certain strength to resist the encroachments of mediæval worldliness, which they would not otherwise have had, and so helped to bring the church through to better days. For better days came. They began with the overthrow of the papal supremacy, and the lessening of clerical corruption, through the Protestant Reformation. Thanks to this, and to other salutary influences preceding and following, the Roman church was for a little time shaken out of its selfish apathy, and sent its missionaries, like Las Casas and Xavier, to the farthest East and the most distant West. But the new apostolic era was not to be inaugurated by the church of Rome, nor was it to begin at that Reformation period. For the early Protestant church was even less than the Roman a missionary church. That branch of it through which, mainly, the apostolic work was to revive—the churches of England and America—had singularly enough to undergo another special training, under those narrowing but spiritually intensifying doctrines of Calvinism. And what there was in Judaism to develop a Judas Maccabæus and exalt a whole people into a reservoir of spiritual power, that there seems to have been in Calvinism to develop a John Knox, a John Robinson, an Oliver Cromwell, and a Jonathan Edwards, and to store up at length in Old England and New England a spiritual fund, which needed only the broadening of the thought of its possessors, and the touch of the Holy Ghost upon their souls, to inaugurate the long-delayed era of salvation and send forth missionaries to the conquest

of the world. The broadening of the thought and the baptism of the Holy Spirit, — just what was needed to inaugurate the apostolic mission era. And that these were needed now is proved by an incident of the occurrence of which this is the centennial year. Others like it could be cited among the Calvinists of Scotland and New England, but this one is typical. By the last years of the eighteenth century, serious inroads had been made upon the theology of the fathers of the Reformation, but if there was an intact English Calvinist living it was the venerable Dr. Ryland, the Baptist preacher of Northampton. When, at a meeting of ministers of which he was chairman, William Carey presumed to propose a discussion on the question "Whether the command given to the apostles, to teach all nations, was not obligatory on all succeeding ministers to the end of the world?" Ryland shouted out, "You are a miserable enthusiast for asking such a question. Certainly nothing can be done before another Pentecost, when an effusion of miraculous gifts, including the gift of tongues, will give effect to the commission of Christ as at first." But happily the pentecostal Spirit was working in ways which Dr. Ryland had not yet recognized. Just as, when the long winter of inaction was closing in upon the church, provision had been made by rigidly formulating the doctrines, by narrowing Christian sympathies to the elect, and by organizing and sharply defining the work and the prerogatives of the church; so now, when the spring was coming, the movements of those days were being reversed. Instead of Augustine had risen John Wesley. Instead of predestination of the few to be saved and the multitudes to be lost, there had been ringing through England for forty years and upon the shores of America for twenty years the doctrines of free grace and atonement for all. As a result, the narrow conceptions of Dr. Ryland as to God's purposes of mercy had been so far replaced by broader views that when he rebuked Carey he found, so far as theory went, few sympathizers. Whatever men's creeds, practically men did not believe, with the Westminster Confession, that in predestinating some men and angels unto everlasting life, and foreordaining some to everlasting death, God had "particularly and unchangeably" designated them, so that "their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished." If they had so believed, little good might the gift of the Spirit have been to them so far as missions were concerned. Men do not take their lives in their hands, even in the service of God, without some hope of results. They had, in this instance,

to be delivered from a paralyzing fatalism. This deliverance from the old hyper-Calvinistic views had come, in England, without great intellectual struggles. Richard Baxter and Philip Doddridge had somewhat smoothed their asperities at an earlier day. Then, undermined as they had been by the latitudinarian views of the Church of England, when evangelical Arminianism thus asserted itself, under the Wesleys, they fell, almost by their own weight. And then that Spirit which had been bestowed upon a handful of brethren at Herrnhut, and upon those few young men who knelt with Wesley at Oxford, became as tongues of fire descending here and there upon devout souls — mostly Calvinists, in whom God by his chosen method had been working his own deep work — and showing them that, like St. Paul, they were not simply to labor at home, but to go far off among the Gentiles.

This in Old England. In New England Calvinism was of sterner stuff, and the opening of the gates of righteousness involved the battling of giants. The strings of the instrument that sounds the clearest notes are given an extra tension. So, as if to America was to be committed the place of honor in the impending work, to her was vouchsafed a third spiritual intensifying through Calvinistic teachings. Augustine, Calvin, Jonathan Edwards: our Moses, Ezra, and John the Baptist. That eighteenth century baptism of the Holy Ghost, which in Old England chiefly affected the heart, in New England touched head and heart. There were revivals here. The Great Awakening brought many into the churches; but the permanent results were not class-meetings and love-feasts, but theological treatises. Jonathan Edwards was no less a predestinarian than Calvin or Augustine, and he gave to their doctrines a new lease of life in New England; nevertheless he initiated the downfall of what he persuaded himself to be a system of truth. When, in the earliest history of the Latin church, God was preparing for the long Judaistic era, old Tertullian said of certain cherished views that he believed them because they were impossible. At the close of that era Edwards may have believed as difficult doctrines as Tertullian; but he made herculean efforts to prove that they were possible. That he failed of justifying Old Calvinism to a generation of men whose hearts God had touched, and whose intellects He had quickened, is shown by the theological writings of that remarkable body of men who followed him, and who developed what we know as New England theology, as distinct from the Calvinism of the Middle and Southern States, of Scotch and Dutch origin. To these men

theology was not a completed and perfected system, to be found ready made in Calvin's Institutes, but, in Dr. Bacon's words, "their own free and earnest thinking on the themes of God's revelation to mankind." Such thinking soon forbade their believing in a limited atonement, and compelled them to coördinate ability and responsibility. But whatever they did not believe, they did believe in the divine sovereignty; and upon this corner-stone Hopkins and Bellamy and Edwards (the younger) and Smalley and Emmons and Woods reared a new structure, Calvinistic still, intensely so, but yet breaking from the old bounds, and at least proclaiming that Christ died for all. Side by side with this broadening influence had been another which affected the educated classes. College education, which at first in this country had been hardly more than a preliminary course in divinity, began reaching out in classical studies. A partly forgotten world was thus brought back within range of thought; and who shall say what questionings it awakened? Then, too, the commercial relations of our little corner of the world vied with those of Old England in reaching the ends of the earth, so preparing another class of minds for larger sympathies. And then it was — when, to complete our comparison, Judea and Greece and Rome had each prepared the way — that the pentecostal tongues fell upon Mills, and Judson, and Hall, and Newell, and Ann Hasseltine, and Harriet Atwood.

"Lift up your heads, O ye gates,  
And be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors!"

was at last the cry, and the King of Glory went forth to the possession of the world.

And while remembering that there had been an Eliot and a Brainerd in earlier days we must recognize that this apostolic dawn came, as it had come in England, only after the repudiation of the old high Calvinism. But between theology and missions there was to be action and reaction. If the breaking down of the older Calvinism by the New England theology contributed to the opening of the door of grace to the heathen world, the opening of that door contributed in turn to a further modification of our theology: just as the apostolic theology had been modified by the reports brought back from their mission journey by Paul and Barnabas. Among a people praying for the conversion of the world, old Hopkinsianism was compelled to bow to a milder and more outreaching faith. As the old New England theology had been unorthodox outside of New England, the representatives of



New Haven and Andover became unorthodox in the eyes of the old New England divines. As Barnes and Beecher had been heretics to the old Old School, Professor Taylor was now a heretic to the men of East Windsor, and Professor Park was a heretic to his neighbors of the preceding generation. But were these men therefore forsaking the truth? No, they were but catching the spirit of those workers far off among the Gentiles, publishing salvation to all men.

And as that spirit was wafted back to the shores of New England, so it was carried to Old England. We may, with Principal Tulloch, trace the religious thought of the century back to Coleridge, and may mark all the windings of its development in all the schools; but we shall find that the spirit of missions, the outreaching spirit of the "good tidings of great joy which shall be to all the people," has done more to give character to English theology than the arguments of the greatest thinkers.

If on both continents there have come occasional checks; if East Windsor for a time drew back; if ultra ecclesiasts are to-day saying that there is no salvation outside of their own little folds; and if a few pulpit orators, drawing inspiration from the fatalistic teachings of modern science, rather than from the free spirit of modern missions, are contenting themselves with what mission-Christianity has shaken off: so in the early days Peter drew back for a time at Antioch; James continued to observe the temple ritual, and the little church in Galatia concluded that none could be saved except they were circumcised; while a fraction of the church, the Ebionites, actually went back into Judaism or became extinct. Nevertheless, apostolic work went on, and Paul, not Peter nor James, was the theologian of the first great mission epoch.

And as of the first so also of the second. The Christian thought of to-day does not draw its inspiration from Augustine, nor from Calvin, nor from Edwards, but from Christ and from Paul. If it receives an impetus from early writings outside the inspired pages, it is from the works of the free, outreaching Greek, rather than from those of the narrower Latin fathers. With Paul it counts not itself to have apprehended; but it presses on. It welcomes light upon God's word from any and from every source. It has learned something within the past twenty-five and even within the past ten years.

Furthermore, this Christian thought has uttered itself. The Congregational churches of the United States are a small body

among the thousands of Israel; but to them it has been granted to give expression to the only original Confession of Faith put forth by any important branch of the church since our mission era opened. Prepared at the instance of a council representing a constituency as large as that of the Council of Nice, by a large committee embracing some of the most learned and most truly representative men of the denomination, it formulated the essentials of Christian doctrine in what is now known as the New Congregational Creed. Note the changes from the last preceding original symbol of the church. Instead of thirty-three chapters of theology, summarized in a Longer and a Shorter Catechism, we have a Statement of Doctrine in twelve brief articles, which (save as to church polity and the proper subjects for baptism) would be readily accepted by four out of five of all the evangelical Christians of the world, as embodying the fundamental Christian truths. But instead of such statements as that adduced from the Westminster Confession, as paralyzing to the mission spirit, we have here the mild declaration: "We believe that the providence of God by which He executes his eternal purposes in the government of the world is in and over all events; yet so that the freedom and responsibility of man are not impaired, and sin is the act of the creature alone" (Art. II.). We have also in this brief compendium such statements as: "We believe that God would have all men return to Him," etc. (Art. IV.); "We believe that the . . . churches . . . should coöperate in the work which Christ has committed to them for the furtherance of the gospel throughout the world" (Art. X.); "We believe in the ultimate prevalence of the Kingdom of Christ over all the earth" (Art. XII.). Comparing this with the outreaching spirit of the apostolic teachings, and with Paul's repudiation of Judaistic narrowness, we may infer that the theology of mission epochs discards as useless, narrowing, exclusive teachings, which tend simply to the edification of the elect, and relegate the overwhelming mass of mankind to the uncovenanted mercies of God; and that it puts a new emphasis on all the positive redemptive teachings, and on all the outreaching, inclusive, world-embracing truths and promises of God's word. Individuals have claimed that this new creed is not representative, and that instead of a positive theological utterance, it is a mere vanishing point in theology; but the great body of the churches, where resides the mission spirit, rule otherwise, and accept it as sound and sufficient, — as voicing the Christian sentiment of this age of missions. And let us add that it would

have voice, sufficiently the sentiments of the churches in that other apostolic mission age.

Without further reference to this creed, however, all agree that new sentiments of some sort, a change of emphasis upon the old truths, or new statements of what has always been believed, or in some cases new phases of truth, are the order of the day throughout evangelical Christendom. What we may claim is that these are but expressions of the outreaching spirit of this epoch of missions. The Judaistic, recuperative, and accumulative age of the church, which lasted fourteen centuries, has passed away; and the age of aggressive work is now in full progress. Let no one think, because it has discarded the Augustinian terminology, that it is an age of theological dissolution. Rather, so far as New England is concerned, our theology is the highest step of that *scala ascensus*, in part so ably traced by Professor Park,<sup>1</sup> of which the lower steps have been the old Old Calvinism, the teachings of Jonathan Edwards, the old New England theology, and the theology of New Haven and of Andover five and twenty years ago.

George A. Jackson.

SWAMPSCOTT.

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### NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.

Two writers of our age and tongue, as different from each other as two men could well be, have both been very commonly designated cynics: William Makepeace Thackeray, and Nathaniel Hawthorne. Was either a cynic? To decide, we must first know what a cynic is. We need not go back to minute inquiries about those Greeks who properly and specifically bore the name. It is enough that their behavior has left upon mankind the ineffaceable impression that they looked upon human nature as essentially bestial, and held it an utter waste of time to endeavor to raise it. Irredeemable worthlessness is supposed to have been their verdict upon it. This, of course, implies a certain apprehension of a higher standard of abstract possibility. Without the recognition of such a standard they could not have rendered such a verdict.

Now of course, neither Thackeray nor Hawthorne can be imagined a cynic in the brutal sense of the old paganism. Both recognize the Christian standard of character, and accept the Chris-

<sup>1</sup> *The Atonement: Discourse and Treatise, with an Introduction by Professor E. A. Park.*

tian prospects of destiny. This in them is not perfunctory or casual, but is interwoven with all their thought. As to Thackeray, take one of his latest books, "*The Adventures of Philip*." This is a story of no account in itself. Philip is simply an excessively coarsened Clive Newcome. This degeneracy has turned him into that "beefish, porterish," bellowing sort of a John Bull, hardly endurable by his own kind, and utterly unendurable by the rest of the world, whom Hawthorne so abhorred, and so delights to puncture. But he is a high-minded, pure-minded man, whose heart rests in the charities of home, who trusts in the providence of God for the future, and overflows with thanksgiving to it for the present and the past. And because the great heart of the author raises a long cry of agony, ever and anon relieving itself in bitter badinage, under the stifling pressure of externals that are strangling to death the pure affections and ordinances of Heaven, he is denounced as a cynic! He might as well be denounced as a Grand Inquisitor. The misapplication would not be a whit more egregious. He does not stand so closely in communication with the highest springs of redeeming power as to be received into the race of the prophets, but it would be vastly nearer the truth to call him a prophet than a cynic.

Hawthorne has no such burden to bear of a society weighed down by omnipotent Mammon. The world in which he has grown up and writes is a society of simple relations, in which individual character is free to move and to denote itself. His piercing vision, however, would have seen to the heart of human reality under any complications of society. These hardly take hold of him. The individual, in his nearest and primal relations, is to him almost all in all. He contemplates him, it is true, and has no wish to contemplate him otherwise than, as living in civilized society, encompassed by the wider bands of religious and civil fellowship. But these wider ties themselves hardly draw his mind to them. He stands aloof from the church, and except as the necessities of visible life press too peremptorily upon him, he stands almost equally aloof from the state. He is not disloyal to either. He is neither atheist nor anarchist. Were it necessary to defend the national life, or the foundations of Christian society, he would be as ready to die as another. But, for all that, their images pass over his mind "like shadows in the mirror'd glass." It is the individual that fixes his regard.

But has he not a "frozen mind" even toward the individual? Such a question might be pertinently asked concerning Goethe.

He is very commonly accredited with a heart whose infinite sympathies could congeal at order, though the sudden chill should be mortal to another heart, even the nearest. But assuredly no such question need be asked concerning Hawthorne. There needed no desecration of the silence and sacredness of love to let us know that few such husbands and few such wives have lived since Eden. A fierce, absorbing passion, even a permanent one, may be sustained by an all-devouring selfishness. But the reverent self-surrender, which was the soul of this wonderful wedded life, can draw its nourishment from nothing less than the love of universal humanity. There are two things in Hawthorne as a writer, — his human heart of fellowship, and the merciless vision, which, in his own despite, will not suffer him to take illusion for reality, or to call evil good, whose pitiless gaze compels the Lamia to shriek and reveal herself. In his lesser pieces (for which we must own that we incline to share Miss DeQuincey's preference) we find the former in such as *Chippings with a Chisel*, *The Wives of the Dead*, *Edward Fane's Rosebud*, *Little Annie's Ramble* (for Hawthorne's love of childhood is only the untroubled form of his love of humanity), *The Old Apple Dealer*, *The Threefold Destiny*, and, above all, *The Village Uncle*. These words are not the words of art, but the words of the heart: "In chaste and warm affections, humble wishes, and honest toil for some useful end, there is health for the mind, and quiet for the heart, the prospect of a happy life, and the fairest hope of Heaven."

Of that terrible glance, which, turned in any direction, brings up the disguised fiend in his proper shape, like Ithuriel's spear, I need give no illustration. But we do well to reflect how often this detected fiend is that of self-separating Pride. This is shown with terrible power in *Lady Eleanore's Mantle*, but above all in *The Unpardonable Sin*. Ethan Brand "remembered with what tenderness, with what love and sympathy for mankind, and what pity for human guilt and woe, he had first begun to contemplate those ideas which afterwards became the inspiration of his life; with what reverence he had then looked into the heart of man, viewing it as a temple originally divine, and however desecrated, still to be held sacred by a brother; with what awful fear he had deprecated the success of his pursuit, and prayed that the Unpardonable Sin might never be revealed to him. Then ensued that vast intellectual development which, in its progress, disturbed the counterpoise between his mind and heart. The Idea that possessed his life had operated as a means of education; it had

gone on cultivating his powers to the highest point of which they were susceptible; it had raised him from the level of an unlettered laborer to stand on a star-lit eminence, whither the philosophers of the earth, laden with the lore of universities, might vainly strive to clamber after him. So much for the intellect! But where was the heart? That, indeed, had withered — had contracted — had hardened — had perished! It had ceased to partake of the universal throb. He had lost his hold of the magnetic chain of humanity. He was no longer a brother-man, opening the chambers or the dungeons of our common nature by the key of holy sympathy, which gave him a right to share in all its secrets; he was now a cold observer, looking on mankind as the subject of his experiment, and, at length, converting man and woman to be his puppets, and pulling the wires that moved them to such degrees of crime as were demanded for his study." This he finds at last to be the Unpardonable Sin.

Indeed, Hawthorne's sense of being peculiarly accessible to this temptation gives to his descriptions of the consequences of yielding to it a lurid intensity which it would be hard to find in any one else. The pride which sunders brotherhood has been, of course, denounced under various aspects ever since Christ came into the world. To Hawthorne it reveals itself especially under the aspect of horribleness. We remember how fearfully even Alice Pyncheon is punished because the prejudices of her caste betray her for a moment into it. It is in no way inconsistent with this, that his Note-Books do not present him in a very amiable light. There is force in what a critic has said, that the more you read them, the less you like him. He was intensely masculine, intensely shy, and had been too many years unappreciated and obscure to have ever gained that easy confidence of his own position which allows of complaisance towards commonplace humanity. In Hawthorne his constitutional dislike of pretence and his somewhat excessive uneasiness under conventional superiority sometimes ferment together rather unpleasantly. Moral clear-sightedness cannot be too piercing; but apart from that, as Merivale says, it is doubtful whether a man is either happier or wiser for being too far separated from the common illusions of his kind. Hawthorne's Journals suggest rather too frequently what Margaret Fuller says of Carlyle, that he reminded her of the hawk rather than of the eagle. But superficial unamiability, petulance, even peevishness, in commenting on empirical specimens of mankind and womankind, are not the substance of character, though they certainly are an un-



desirable incrustation upon it. Hawthorne was an ideal husband, a reverent son, a loving father, a faithful brother, a warm-hearted and unwavering friend. It was an inalienable honor which befell Franklin Pierce that he was with him alone at the last. And how his heart stood towards humanity at large may be felt in his description of Outcast London. "If a single one of those helpless little ones be lost, the world is lost." Compare this, for instance, with the contemptuous aristocracy of a Theodore Winthrop, reviewing the stolid Mormon immigrants, and deciding that they are hardly worth saving, and note, not a gradual, but an essential contrast.

What of his attitude towards moral evil? Is it healthy? That he has a special divine commission to deal with it in its manifold forms appears to me as clear as anything else which to state is to prove. And that his attitude towards it is one of moral sanity appears in the fact that the resulting impression is never one of sympathy or allowance, but always of horror at the sin, and sadness over the sinner, mounting into abhorrence only when the sinner, like Judge Pyncheon, has, by his own voluntary and obstinate purpose, so inextricably identified himself with his sin that we do not know how to separate them. The only question remaining is, Ought attention to be so strongly called to evil? We know the forced smile with which the Greek passed by death. But it did not abolish death. Such a mental attitude, however, towards one great half of moral evil, namely, sensual evil, goes a long way towards abolishing it. And Hawthorne is as pure a writer as Charles Dickens. But against the other great half, fiendish evil, in all its manifold degrees and shapes, horror can hardly be too variously excited. As Rothe says (in this very much wiser than Lotze) the Devil is not a *legitimate* power in the universe, but as an *actual* one God must recognize him. And Hawthorne is profoundly impressed with the possibility of fiendish sin, in which the man, willingly surrendering himself to some utter malignity of selfishness, becomes properly a devil, and when the limitations of humanity fall away is liable to appear as one. Whether this transmutation of celestial possibilities into infernal realities is final and irreversible lies beyond the line of his speculations. Hawthorne, as in his comments on the poor of London, fully recognizes the heart of the Good Shepherd, which will not suffer the meanest to perish for lack of opportunity. But he fully recognizes that sin may be so accepted into the sanctuary of the will as to become, to our human view, inalienable from it. That shallowest

of notions, which conceives the human personality as eternally librating in indeterminate caprice between good and evil, finds no support from this deep observer of spiritual reality. In John Inglefield's Thanksgiving he speaks of "those waking dreams in which the guilty soul will sometimes stray back to its innocence. But Sin, alas! is careful of her bond-slaves; they hear her voice, perhaps, at the holiest moment, and are constrained to go whither she summons them. The same dark power that drew Prudence Inglefield from her father's hearth — the same in its nature, though heightened then to a dread necessity — would snatch a guilty soul from the gate of heaven, and make its sin and its punishment alike eternal."

But are there not pieces of Hawthorne which leave us under the spell of a deep discouragement? There are those, undoubtedly, which, taken alone, might do so. The Shaker Bridal, The Minister's Black Veil, The Prophetic Pictures, might be singled out, though hardly any others. But the lesser pieces have no such separate individuality as the romances. Like waves, they are only variously shaped expressions of an underlying unity. And the one thought of Hawthorne, underlying even the foundations, is, that no moral defect, no intellectual difference, no intellectual humiliation, no perversity of fate, no sin, even, has an eternal force against the benignant purpose of God concerning the destiny of man. The one terrible exception which he allows is the voluntary marriage of the soul with its sin, in an indissoluble sacrament of Hell. All other evils and sins are remediable and remissible, either in this world or in that which is to come. Here Hawthorne leaves behind him both the spiritual shallowness of the system of doctrine of which he was a nominal adherent and the hard limitations of the system of which he was a nominal opponent, and rises into unity with the thought and words of the Son of man.

The "Saturday Review" complains of American novels, that, with all their shrewdness, they have an inevitable bent towards psychomancy. Undoubtedly the American temperament is far more immediately sensitive than the English, for both good and evil, to spiritual things. As James Russell Lowell says, John Bull has suffered the idea of the invisible to be very much fattened out of him: Jonathan is still conscious that he lives in the world of the unseen, as well as of the seen. And of this psychomantic tendency Hawthorne is the great representative. Undoubtedly, he indulges it beyond all usual limits of art, not only classic, but even

romantic art. Yet seldom can any vaporous haze obscure the luminous distinctness of Hawthorne's outlines. Very few minds of his measure of force have ever more completely fused Hellenic temperance and Teutonic soulfulness. And his redundant psychomancy has almost always this peculiar property, that while it enters deeply into the essence of the story, it is no great mental effort to recast it into some shape conveying the same essential truths, but better suited to "the garish day." I, for one, seldom care to recast it, recognizing from how healthful a nature it proceeds, and in how healthful a spirit it is conceived. In very few have "the sacred limits of personality" been so unassailably defined, and by very few have they been so inviolably revered. To be well imbued with Hawthorne is a good prophylactic against the hideous infection of Spiritualism. He does not avert his eyes from "the night side of our nature," but carries into it the healthful spirit of life, blowing away the vapors of mortality. The true moral attitude to be taken towards these prophets of the charnel-house could not be more exactly expressed than is done by him. "What delusion can be more lamentable and mischievous than to mistake the physical and material for the spiritual? What so miserable as to lose the soul's true, though hidden knowledge and consciousness of heaven in the midst of an earth-born vision? If we would know what heaven is before we come thither, let us retire into the depths of our own spirits, and we shall find it there among holy thoughts and feelings; but let us not degrade high heaven and its inhabitants into any such symbols and forms as Miss L — describes; do not let an earthly effluence from Mrs. P —'s corporeal system bewilder and, perhaps, contaminate something spiritual and sacred. I should as soon think of seeking revelations of the future state in the rottenness of the grave, — where so many do seek it. . . . The view which I take of this matter is caused by no want of faith in mysteries; but from a deep reverence of the soul, and of the deep mysteries which it knows within itself, but never transmits to the earthly eye and ear. Keep the imagination sane, that is one of the truest conditions of communion with heaven." So in the *Blithedale Romance*, he gives the mysticism of this singular age its true stigma of "mystic sensuality." He says of the lecture of the evil Westervelt: "It was eloquent, ingenious, plausible, with a delusive show of spirituality, yet really imbued throughout with a cold and dead materialism. I shivered, as at a current of chill air issuing out of a sepulchral vault, and bringing the smell of corruption along with it."

Hawthorne seems to be influenced by very much the same feeling which leads Dr. Arnold to say somewhere that an intense horror of evil is in some respects more to be desired than the active love of good. Let this *obex* be opposed to the infernal powers that seek to inundate the soul, and the divine benignity is ready to fill it with all things fair and healthful. Receptivity upwards and manful energy of resistance outwards are the two conditions of attaining to eternal life. I must leave it to those whose knowledge of literature is of a wider range to decide how many there are that can pursue the portraiture of evil so perseveringly, so relentlessly, and into so many details, without blighting the smallest blossom of contiguous beauty. Nor is there any unnatural exaltation of one by the contrast with the other. On the one hand, Phoebe Pyncheon is not one whit the less fit "for human nature's daily food," for being relieved against the massive wickedness of the Judge, and, on the other, he does not appear any the more wicked by contrast with her. Evil, everywhere in Hawthorne, however intimately woven into the plot, gives the impression that it is in process of being "gathered like scum, and settled to itself." This is helped by the fact that, as he loves sculpture rather than painting, so his genius is perhaps rather sculpturesque than picturesque. And there is less need of mutual accommodation of impressions where the genius of an author, as is certainly the case with Hawthorne in a great part of his creations, has the simplicity of "a wise passiveness," which contents itself with the faithfulness of report of that which is actually seen. Hawthorne's mind, in its usual workings, is one which, as he says of the lake, reflects exactly what is presented to it, but adds a soul to it. If this is what Preraphaelitism means, it is worthy of all reverence. This is the more notable in him, because if we divide writers according to Mr. Lowell's canon, into those who are possessed by their gifts and those who possess them (and, with all abatements, it is a canon of true and weighty application), Hawthorne seems rather to belong to the latter than to the former class. He is eminently, and sometimes almost disenchantingly, *compos sui*. And since the publication of his Note-Books, we sometimes see the moving wires of his plots a little too manifestly. They almost creak to our ears. There is no waste material about him, no unmanageable redundancy. He knows how to turn everything to good account. He has not lived, individually and ancestrally, so many generations in Yankeeland for nothing. The spirit of this prophet is eminently subject to the prophet. Nevertheless, it is the spirit of a prophet,

careful to deliver faithfully, not that which he has devised, but that which he has received.

Which of his main characters are most thoroughly living presentments? Asking this question, we will answer it in humble imitation of the method of his biographer, by signifying that any one who differs from our sentence is a mere Feathertop, a semblance of rationality only. Our vermilion edict, then, is as follows: Of his main characters those which are indisputably living presentments, to question whose complete self-subsistence inevitably incurs the reversion of a head into a pumpkin, are, Phœbe Pyncheon, Hephzibah Pyncheon, Clifford Pyncheon, Jaffrey Pyncheon, Hester Prynne, Arthur Dimmesdale, and Zenobia or Miriam, either but not both. This decree is "irreformable;" except that should the faithful solicit the admission of Roger Chillingworth, it shall not be forbidden, on the ground that his entire distinctness and his relation to two principal characters jointly entitle him to rank as a principal character. Among the main characters who are sufficiently distinct, but less notably so, we put Holgrave and Kenyon. Hilda is between. Reading the book, she is distinct enough to any one who knows the possibilities of American maidenhood. But remaining in memory, even to them, she may be described as

"the very form of Hilda fair,  
Hovering upon the sunny air"

of the Eternal City. As to Hollingsworth, he seems only a voice of fanatical monomania.

What of Pearl? We tremble to answer. But let us take refuge behind Eva. She is the creation of a woman, of a woman of eminent genius, and dramatic genius, of a mother, of a mother in the fullest sense. And yet, even when the heart was rent from week to week as the story agonizingly protracted itself in its first form, she seemed to us, and has always seemed, a failure. And can the dramatic portraiture of childhood well be anything else? Mr. Emerson remarks, that during all the centuries that man has been on the earth with some of the lower creatures, no mutual intelligence has been established between him and them. But it seems as if we left our own childish selves almost as helplessly behind. We can understand childhood well enough for sympathy, but hardly well enough for reëmbodiment. And if the woman of genius fails, why should the man of genius succeed? Pearl, it seems to me, is not a growth, but a construction from without, and with hardly more interior coherence than the uncertainly arranged

pieces of a broken looking-glass. A jar of unity was intended, but the result has been a dislocation. But the truth is, that in her, the author, with malice prepense, has endeavored to embody his profound apprehensions, indeed anticipations, of what is true in the modern doctrines of heredity. For he is no shallow Pelagian, to fear danger to spiritual truth, or to the rights of individuality, from the dread realities of original sin. But the form in which he conceives it is too crude for easy expression, and poor Pearl suffers the penalty. This is hard, seeing how much she has to suffer apart from it. And the death of the minister on the scaffold beside her and her mother could never have produced on her, a child of some seven years old, any such maturing and rectifying effect as is ascribed to it. Doubtless the author would smile at this cavil, and remind us that his symbolic condensations, even less than Shakespeare's, are to be measured by a time-table. This is true. But we adhere still to our position, that Pearl is a failure. Would he had lived to enrich us with many more such golden wrecks.

His biographer seems to think it necessary to apologize for the form in which Septimius Felton is left, as founded on a strain on probability too great to have been allowed to remain in the final cast. The apology seems hardly needed. Hawthorne, like Shakespeare, brings us into a sphere in which the laws of human nature remain unchanged, but the laws of material probability become plastic. When science sets itself to realize fantastic improbabilities, it is hard to see why romance should bound itself within the routine of ordinary verisimilitude. Let novels die out by drying out: then, as Justin McCarthy well says, fiction is likely to be regenerated by being dipped in the holy well of romance. Perhaps, indeed, it is reserved for the Irish genius to accomplish this renewal. Were that so, fiction would reëmerge from a brighter well than that which lies under the sombre shadows of the Hill of Witchcraft, something which should give its inner glory and sweetness, even here, to burst "into a waving, silver flower."

Hawthorne's biographer claims for him, with eminent right, that there is in him an inexhaustible fountain of genuine fun, always ready to bubble up. When he is engaged in probing the recesses of evil, or exposing those forms of illusion which, if not monstrously evil, are filially akin to it, the fruit of its monstrous magic, we can see that he is discharging that to which he is obliged under a hard necessity. But he is all himself when he can dwell on the



beauty of nature, the glory of sacred architecture, the innocence of childhood, the purity of maidenhood, the happiness of true homes, and the dawning of the eternal day over the vanishing frailties of mortality. And, on a humbler range, no one more delights in the opportunity of noting with gentle mirth the eccentricities and oddities of primitive and unpolished life. The way in which a New Englander does this is a crucial test of the spirit which is in him. Hawthorne bears the test well. He photographs Yankee rustic life — see Mr. Higginbotham's *Catastrophe* — with a quizzical precision which is infinitely amusing, and which shows him to be infinitely amused. But he leaves us with the full conviction that the smart country-peddler, and all his tribe, from Maine to Connecticut, are born of women. It is doubtful whether Dr. Holmes would have done as much. Both these eminent writers may, not without appearance of reason, be charged with holding a somewhat rigorous and exclusive Calvinism. But of the two, Hawthorne's is very much the more liberal and benign. He does not confine the Election of Grace to "the city's sifted few," and would, we are persuaded, have contended that a man may wear cleaned gloves and yet possibly enter the kingdom of heaven. And while he might have been pushed by the scalpel of his learned friend into the admission that any one who should lapse into an old English idiom and widely diffused English pronunciation, and ask a question with "Heow?" "has done a deed which the ibis and the crocodile tremble at," which leaves Captain Kidd and Blackburn virtuous in the contrast, he assuredly would never have conceded it as certain that even such a one has committed the sin against the Holy Ghost. Mr. Lincoln's saying, quoted lately to such excellent purpose by Mr. Howells, that God must surely love the plain people the most, since he has made so many more of them, would encounter nothing in Nathaniel Hawthorne's writings to contradict it in form or spirit.

Had "Septimius Felton" been completed, his character would, no doubt, have sustained itself in a dark distinctness, which, indeed, is by no means lacking to it in the sketch. But the fewer strokes given to the skinny, half-Indian aunt throw her out in startling vividness. So uncanny a creature, it is true, was more easily grasped, but still more easily spoiled. Some would have made her vulgar, some goodish, some devilish. But she is none of the three. She has too much of the free pinewoods in her for vulgarity, too much of the pow-wow witch in her for either goodness or goodishness, and too much of the Christian white woman in her

to allow the more potent elements of her being even their unchecked inward effect. Yet incongruously compounded as she is, she is no mechanical conjunction, but a vital unity. And her last words are rarely pathetic, when, beginning to see a little way into the world to come, she recognizes that the Father of all has a fit place even for so strangely commingled a being as she. And, with all due reverence to the shade of Mr. Trask, we might allow the poor creature to hope, at least under the triple defense of Martin Luther, Swedenborg, and Miss Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, that, if poorly prepared at first for that which was implied in her baptism, she might find her first supraterrrestrial experience in some dim subjacency of aromatic spiritual forest, in which she might smoke a spiritual pipe in peace, until, perhaps under the never-wearied ministrations of the mild Eliot himself, she might in due time be advanced to a more properly celestial standing. Indeed, "Septimius Felton," as a whole, justifies those who say that Hawthorne was taken away just as he was beginning to touch Mother Earth with a fresh accession of kindly strength.

Race is near to the individual and that out of which the individual issues, and therefore Hawthorne is strong in portraying it, whether in a group of human beings or a group of chickens. The family, also, is to him a holy unit. But family in the conventional English sense is a point at which his fingers already begin to lose their hold. The real interest of that book of singularly distinct characters, "The House of the Seven Gables," would be the same if Phœbe had never had any ancestor back of her great-grandfather, nor the three elder Pyncheons back of their grandfather, and if Holgrave had been absolutely autochthonous. I do not mean that this shadowy background is not used to weird effect for the ends of the story. But it might have been skimmed off to itself, and perhaps have told its lesson the better, while leaving the living To-day to convey its lesson the better. Seeing it remains, however, throughout the book, we cannot wish it away in one terrible chapter, that chapter which, without the majesty of the prophet, reminds us of the prophet's vision of the kings of Hades rising from their thrones to mock the discrowned new-comer; which, without the benignity of the divine original, preaches such a discourse as it would be vain to seek elsewhere upon the text: "Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee;" which chills our blood as we wonder what manner of man this can be that thus taunts the dead, and are only partially reassured to learn that the energy of well-warranted hatred which is

here delivered upon the head of the dead hypocrite and traitor is in truth directed towards the yet living. A successor may perhaps some day substitute for Jaffrey Pyncheon a far nobler presence, occupying a seat of judgment far more august, really endowed by nature with that moral nobility which this man only feigned, yet instead of hiding anything from his own conscience, accustomed to boast, without care of who might hear, that all his greatness rested on his early helpfulness to a crime differing in nothing essentially from this. Such a necromancer is Law. Therefore this chapter shall remain, as worthy to be handed up, unaltered, to the recording angel of that tribunal—

“Where the action stands

In his true nature.”

What of “The Marble Faun?” It has been notified to us, under pain of such uncertain retribution as has overtaken Donatello himself, that we must not intimate that here suggestion takes the place of narration to a degree which art does not allow, and against which human nature protests. Of course it belongs to a biographer to present his subject (and himself) as *supra grammaticam*. But grammar will outlive many a biographizing Sigismund. “This wise world of ours is mainly right,” when in all docility it has received something avowedly proffered to itself, and yet cannot rid itself of a certain feeling concerning it. The Philistine also is a man and a brother, to quote one whom the most of us regard as having some rights towards the name of Hawthorne. However, I conceive that a successful defense of this feature of “The Marble Faun” might be made without either conceding or resorting to such imperial assumptions. If the author’s foot were on his native heath, we might hold him to a more rigorous account. But what can we say when he gives us this delicious book of Italy? There are in the foreground human interests and characters, tragic and tender, strange and domestic. And if, at this point and that, they melt away into impalpable vacancy, do they not leave us Hilda, at the courtyard and at the confessional, and reappearing out of the furnace to toss the rosebud that shall not miss its mark? And for all the rest, is there not left us — Italy — and Rome? A more powerful genius has given us a greater book on Italy, cast in the same form. But she discusses Italy to us; he gives to us, his countrymen, who have not seen Italy, Italy itself. From the heights on which the kingly figure of the pontiff stretches out a hand of blessing over the betrothal of the fated pair, our thoughts, without losing hold of the human heart of the story, sink into the

peopled luminousness of the mighty land, as from a point of vantage such as we find nowhere else.

And as he has written this book for us, we will come home and enjoy it, only remarking, as we pass through "Our Old Home" on the way, that he has rendered visible to us the graciousness of the ancestral island and of its memories in such a way as might make us wish that he had been invisibly guided through it by Hermes, holding no speech with its men, or with its women.

A strong sense of the workings of race does not imply a strong historical sense. Hawthorne has the one, but not the other. How could he have, when the state and the church are both so far from him? When he beheads Queen Catherine Parr, and thereby furnishes a third victim to the conjugal carnage of the Old Harry, it is no great matter, since the good lady may as well have died under the axe of her second husband as under the infidelities of her third. But such little jars occurring every now and then seem to show that history did not sit very close to him. He lived in the present, and in the generic past. So his little juvenile histories of this country, written to order, lack the true historical touch, though, as is natural, he seems to have regarded them with a self-complacency which would have been warranted towards those glorious things, the "Wonderbook" and the "Tanglewood Tales." And among his imaginative pieces, about the only one that can be called a futility is Howe's Masquerade. The scale of this Banquo's proecession reversed is far too confined to lend any force to the shadows of the petty viceroys of so recent a past. But a larger canvas, peopled with figures of original majesty, would have been better committed to some other hand. And we cannot help doubting whether the background from which the "Scarlet Letter" gleams out was precisely what he gives, though for the purposes of the story this may be so much the better. The grimnesses were all there, no doubt, but within them lay a deeper spirit of religious sweetness, which Emerson has apprehended, and which Lowell understands, but which Hawthorne appears never to have fully sensed.

To one great movement of the world Hawthorne is fully alive, one which, as Macaulay says, is of much greater account than all the relations of kingdoms to each other, the readjustment of the relations of the sexes to each other. No one was more keenly alive than Hawthorne to the danger that woman, in seeking to secure the full circle of her just opportunities, may lose the essential excellence of her nature. But he makes this no reason for

seeking to push her back into a zenana. He leaves that to the polygamist Milton, of whose Turkish theory he very fitly makes Hollingsworth the mouthpiece. But he was too thorough a man, and was the reverent protector of too perfect a woman, to consent to put the glory of womanhood in an unnatural assumption of leadership in the hard work of the material world. In his paper on Mrs. Hutchinson he gives warning of a danger in the future which is as real as the great evil of the past. The root of both is the same, a secret disbelief that womanhood is equal to manhood. A woman who really believes this, as Sophia Peabody evidently did, will never dream that in interposing a robust nature between herself and the shocks of the world she is not according exactly as great a privilege as she accepts. Had she not found him to whom she could live in the full equality of helpfulness, she might have been compelled to use her rare powers directly upon the world. We may thank God that her grand matronhood was not thus lost. And in her husband's journals we mark the point, more sudden than sunrise, when his whole being lifts and expands into a new fullness. Of course, neither would have been capable of the infinitely silly notion that human powers in man or woman are not to be used unless they can be forced into a determinate channel. With women such as Mary Somerville, Frances Power Cobbe, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lydia Maria Child, both would have stood in one rank. But of those wretched creatures who can conceive no honor except in coarse notoriety, who are incapable of understanding that that which is most perfect has occasion for shelter in proportion to its costliness, and who scoff at any honor put upon home, as "a remanding of women to the dishcloth," this pair, who "sat side by side, full-orbed in all their powers," would have said, "O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honor, be not thou united!" It is no such renovated world of hideous chaos, ending in rottenness, which he contemplated in his New Adam and Eve.

Hawthorne's incapacity of being greatly moved by any organized cause keeps him from breaking, in works of art, over the true limit of art. But having been brought up in a society in which life and death, time and eternity, were believed to be charged with profound meaning, and having always remained in full accord with this belief, his æsthetic perceptions always remained on Dante's basis, that you cannot separate beauty from eternity. His works are not of so high a rank that no oblivion will overtake them in time, but they are full of gold that will bear to be melted over for new uses hereafter.

If any one complains that he has looked over these pages and has not found even the two grains of wheat on which he had a right to reckon, I will dismiss him with a whole harvest packed in brief compass. It is now settled, that there is one Hawthorne, and that there is not to be a second. There is also one man in the world whom we can thoroughly trust to interpret him to us. Let us hope that we shall not be held in long expectancy.

*Charles C. Starbuck.*

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### THE MORAL DANGERS OF MUSICAL DEVOTEES.

THERE is no surer way to determine the tendencies of a period than to ascertain into what form of art its energies naturally flow. The rigid constitution of society during the Middle Ages, for instance, united to the passionate but futile vigor of the lower classes, could have been adequately reflected in the triumphs of Gothic architecture alone; while the love of beauty for its own sake, so strong in the Italian Renaissance, inevitably expressed itself by means of the painting of a Titian or a Raphael. It is thus natural that we should ask ourselves eagerly in what direction we may look for the characteristic art of our own day, and the answer is not far to seek. Our concert-halls, thronged yearly with a more numerous and more appreciative audience, the increasing stress laid on elaborate music as an element in public worship, and the universality of a musical education, all bear witness to the growing importance placed among us on the youngest, and, as some consider, the final art. To any one who tries to discover the general state of feeling on the subject a hundred years ago, and to compare it with that of the present, the change in the popular attitude is surprising. Then music was viewed by all but the select few as, first and foremost, a means of amusement. To-day it is taken seriously. Intelligent appreciation is considered a duty,—is treated by some, indeed, as if it were in itself a sufficient occupation in life; and the last concert is discussed at solemn and respectful length in our newspapers and at our dinners. We have the satisfaction, moreover, of being told by the ablest critics that in the future, even more than in the present, our artistic needs are destined to find for themselves adequate fulfillment in musical expression.

It would be interesting to discuss the causes of the sudden preva-



lence of this youngest of the arts, whose development, beyond the simplest forms, has been almost entirely compressed within two hundred years. But there is another question which even more strongly claims our attention. What is the moral tendency, what the effect, of this widespread love of music? What drives these crowds to concert-hall and opera? As they rustle out with murmured comments how is their condition different from that when they went in? What has been taken away, what added? Our girls, if conventionally educated, spend a large proportion of their youth in cultivating their musical ability. How will their characters be modified by thus living in the world of sound? What, in short, is the relation of music to life? This is no futile inquiry, impossible to solve, or long ago set at rest. Our century is the first which has been called to meet it; for it is only to-day that music has begun to form an appreciable element in the moulding of our nature. This potent force, usurping daily more influence over us, must have an effect proportioned to its power. The period which has yielded to its sway will of necessity evolve a different type of character from that formed by a race whose artistic needs found expression in the permanent and severe art of architecture. Is the type better or worse? Shall we, in our small way, by practice and example, encourage its formation, or try to force it down?

We may disregard in our inquiry all music which, however good from a technical standpoint, appeals to the lower and sensuous nature alone. We do not eschew literature because there arises a Zola, nor painting because it includes a Rubens. We remember Wordsworth and Fra Angelico. We will consider simply the effect upon the mind of that music which is acknowledged to be the purest and the best.

In a certain sense, the question of the ethical value of music is only a subdivision of that broad and well-worn problem, — the relation to morality of art in general. We are not writing a treatise on æsthetics; nevertheless, it may be useful, with a rough definition as our basis, to consider in a word or two the different arts, that we may see what relation music bears to the others. Art, then, according to the generally received opinion, is the representation of beauty through the medium of human powers.

Now, with this definition, running hastily through the recognized arts, we are met at once by a curious paradox. It is evident at the first glance that literature, for instance, gives us ideas to apprehend as well as beauty to enjoy. It is impossible to find

any literary work which does not convey some thought, or, at all events, some image intellectually perceived. In Greek drama, the terrible truth of an avenging deity is at least equally potent with the chaste beauty of the form. There are, indeed, certain poems of the modern school in which we find an approach to pure art, since they furnish the maximum of pleasing sound with the minimum of idea; and a still better example may be found in the Jabberwock of "Alice in Wonderland." Yet even here there is a modicum of thought; somebody surely fought something; and we are forced to conclude that the spirit which all fine literature stimulates is rather the metaphysical temper which searches and inquires than the artistic temper which accepts and enjoys. Either, then, our definition is at fault, or literature must be classed as a mixed art.

When we turn to painting, we find a wider range. A picture or statue must, indeed, express truth, either temporary or permanent. It implies a story, or represents an idea. As the symbol of a divine truth we value the Venus de Milo, not simply as a combination of curves pleasing to the eye. Yet in purely decorative art — in exquisite arabesque, intricate design on tile or frieze, rich combination of tint on fresco or in glass — we find the expression of simple and unmingled beauty. Still more is this the case in architecture, where arch and pillar, roof and portal, are symbols, not representatives, of any truth they may suggest. Technical knowledge of a high order is undoubtedly necessary that these forms of art may be produced; but that knowledge is not imparted to the beholder. And in such manifestations of art — pure, simple, untouched by any intrusion upon her sphere — we have the nearest approach to the final and absolute art of music.

It may be as well to state here what has been throughout implied, but needs to be emphasized. We have hitherto spoken of the quality inherent in the art; henceforth we will speak of the mental state correlative to that quality and aroused by it.

Now the direct effect produced upon the mind by truth is knowledge; the direct effect produced upon the mind by beauty is emotion.

We find, then, that the art of literature must express the truth as well as the beauty of life. It occupies medium ground between pure art and science. Painting and sculpture, on the other hand, may or may not express ideas, which are more general, as a rule, than those of literature. But in certain forms they appeal solely to that apprehension of beauty which is emotion, not to that apprehension of truth which is knowledge.

And now we come to the third member of this great group of the arts — the youngest of all, and, as some say, the greatest. How does music answer to our definition, and where among the arts shall it be placed?

It answers perfectly. Here are no perplexing ideas, no problems of metaphysics or of human life. Here is sound, melodious, beautiful, absolute, offering to the bewildered reason no comfort and no hope, to the jaded intellect no fresh or awakening force. In music, at last, we have reached our goal, the final term of our advancing series. We find pure art, untainted by any intrusion upon her sphere. The province of music is to present to us, in the only unmodified form that the world has yet discovered, abstract and perfect beauty.

But the function of beauty is to arouse emotion. To arouse emotion is, then, the object and the result of music.

A very simple test will serve to convince any one of this fact. Play to a roomful of people a sonata of Beethoven's, and ask what ideas it has suggested; there will be as many ideas as listeners. Ascertain what emotions were aroused; there will be an unfailing identity. The meaning of this is obvious: thought, when awakened at all by music, is aroused indirectly by the force of association alone. In long protracted endeavors to ascertain from various musical individuals just what was given them in listening to music, I never found two to report to me the same idea. "Music is untranslatable," I am told; "it is above all expression, and hence there is nothing that can convey it." Now thought, however lofty, is translatable, but emotion is not. "Music is the universal language," I am told again. Why? Because it deals, not with ideas, which present their subtle selves in varying forms to various nations, but with emotions, in which the rudest savage and the man of highest culture are, on the whole, agreed.

Music, then, is the ideal expression of emotion; and our question resolves itself into this: Is a purely emotional force, apart from a suggestive cause, or an object to which it may be directed, a desirable or a moral influence?

The question is, unfortunately, one which cannot be answered in the abstract. It must be determined in every case by the individual factor. There are, of course, whole classes to whom emotion is a necessary oil to lubricate the dry wheels of their existence. They are absorbed in mechanical routine, in domestic cares, in abstruse speculation; and the concert or oratorio that causes them to forget their perplexities and raises for the time into

consciousness the latent sphere of unguessed possibilities in their own natures is for them a blessed and enlarging influence.

But there is another class, forming, perhaps, the bulk of the audience which listens with critical appreciation to the concerts in our large cities, to whom we must conclude that the stimulus offered by music is, on the whole, a demoralizing influence. Who does not know these dainty, dilettante men and women? Sheltered by their position from practical cares, and eager for absorbing interests, they find such interests, first and foremost, in their own sensations. Too highly educated to care for vulgar excitements, or for coarse and primitive emotions, their philosophy is a refined hedonism, their one endeavor to educate the nature to the utmost keenness of perception and of feeling. It would seem at first sight that America would be the last country to produce such a class. The epicurean ideal has, usually, been most in vogue among nations such as Rome under the later empire, — nations which, having accomplished their practical mission, sink back exhausted in luxurious indifference. But in our curious country the elements of a crude and of a decaying civilization meet; and while as a people we face vigorously all the perplexities incident upon a complex social order, and work with feverish activity at the solution of practical problems and the acquisition of wealth, the very rapidity with which that wealth is accumulated forms a constantly increasing leisure class, which, reaping the fruit of its fathers' toil, reacts from the restless desire for effort, and wearily abandons itself to the indolent enjoyment of its own sensibilities. Another cause for the growth of this tendency among us may be found in our constant intellectual contact with nations in which it has more legitimately appeared. There is no need of dwelling on the various phases which this attitude towards life assumes, for instance, in England. The school of "Art for Art's sake" earnestly teaches that the aim of life is the cultivation of a fine susceptibility. So delicately sensitive are its devotees to every type of sentiment that they develop a spurious catholicity of spirit, and enter with sympathetic tenderness into the most alien forms of faith, from the calm Greek worship of beauty to the Christian passion for sorrow. This artistic school which, as a clever writer puts it, views God and immortality as matters about which very charming things may be said, merges imperceptibly into the school of thought, prominent a few years ago in every magazine, which considers subjective experience as the object of existence, and values all dogma, ethical, practical, or religious, simply as it

ministers to emotional development. So noble and pure a book as Pater's "Marius the Epicurean" devotes itself to elaborating this ideal of life. Pater, it is true, shows with great care that the ideal logically leads to action, since it can only find its full development when merged in one loftier than itself; but, unluckily, the ideal is not, as a rule, held by people of logical minds. Indeed, it is rarely held consciously at all, and herein lies its greatest danger. Numbers among us who would reject with instant disapproval the formulated theory are yet, to a greater or less degree, affected by its subtle influence. We shall find, if we cross-question them, that, after a vague and dubious fashion, they hold the belief that emotion is of itself possessed of some mysterious virtue, and that the finest and most admirable character is the one which feels the most intensely and the most subtly. It is especially in girls and women of the upper classes, not engaged in any engrossing occupation, that this attitude towards life is common. In their quiet and well-ordered existence, where the sensational must be found, not in external events, but in subjective experience, the thirst for a subtle form of emotional excitement becomes the dominant motive of life. Which of us has not felt the desire, has not shared that curious sense of self-satisfaction which follows the consciousness of having been deeply moved? Have we heard a pathetic or tragic story and been touched to pity? How we gloat over the fact! Have we listened to an oratorio and come away, our hearts thrilling with a solemn sense of the sublime? How complacently we feel that ours is a deeply religious nature! All such tendencies point to an undue emphasis laid on pure emotionalism.

Now to people of this class — and most of us belong to it in a measure — music furnishes an absolutely ideal method of enjoyment. It fulfills all the conditions which such a nature demands. How delicately, yet how peacefully, are the emotions aroused in listening to fugue or symphony! Tenderness, triumph, joy, sorrow, adoration, — all are experienced in turn, just short of the intensity which might become painful, while the luxuriously quiescent listener, freed from all necessity of exertion, feels that in concentrated essence he tastes all that life can furnish. A writer in a recent "Atlantic" gravely discusses the best occupation for the mind in listening to music, and naïvely concludes that instead of brooding over one's own past emotions — a temptation of which she confesses the strength — it might be well sometimes to direct one's mind to the joys and sorrows of one's friends,

or of some fictitious characters. It never seems to occur to her that to saturate one's self in the contemplation of emotion, whether one's own or that of another, with no idea of turning the emotion to practical account, may be a somewhat enervating luxury.

But if the whole theory be wrong; if the end of life be purposeful activity and the function of emotion be simply to stimulate to action, — then it must be seen that among all the influences to which the over-sensitive nature can subject itself there is none more dangerous and pernicious than music. For, more than any other power on earth, music arouses emotion without furnishing any hint of an end to which the emotion shall be directed. It is vague longing, vague joy, at best a vague and dreamy consciousness of mystery, that fills our hearts as we listen to sonata or to symphony; and the awakening of these sentiments in minds already weakened by excessive indulgence is thoroughly dangerous, since it cheapens and degrades them by separating them from their legitimate functions. It is a humiliating but an undeniable fact that our natures are so constituted that the unusual has over us a greater power than the usual. By rendering common and ordinary the sacred emotions which should be reserved for crises in our lives, and for the spur to a vigorous and beneficent activity, music tears in two those delicate threads of association which were intended to bind together with almost automatic precision the impulse with the effort to achieve. A musician, who himself lays greater stress than a non-musical temperament would be likely to lay on right feeling as distinguished from right action, nevertheless spoke to the writer recently, with real sadness, of the great injury which the art that he loved inflicted on those who most readily subjected themselves to its influence. The only remedy, according to him, lay in supplying from without a strong intellectual and volitional element. Now this is exactly what is done in many cases where music is introduced, and in such cases its use is not only legitimate, but desirable. The soldier finds his flagging energies revive at the sound of a lively march, and translates the impulse thus received into immediate action. The same principle applies to the use of music in public worship. Here the intellect is throughout stimulated by the apprehension of lofty themes, and is especially considered in the sermon; while the will, if the attitude of the worshiper be right, becomes tense with the effort to put itself into communion with the divine. Music, then, appeals to the only remaining power of the soul. It puts the whole nature in tune. It arouses, soothes, and elevates the emo-



tions, rendering them efficient and eager ministers to the sluggish will ; and it is thus an adjunct to the service of God, the loss of which would be irreparable. Yet even here we may observe a tendency to assign to music a principal rather than a subordinate function, — a tendency which, if carried out, would destroy the calm vigor of our worship. The danger is much greater in the numerous cases where the audience assembles for the sole purpose of musical enjoyment. How the missing elements could be supplied in our concert-halls is not easy to see, and one is tempted to give up the problem as hopeless, and to feel that the evils incident on an unlimited indulgence in musical luxury are not likely to be checked. As unhappy nervous invalids, debarred from the natural and vigorous use of their physical powers, are forced to lie on a couch and receive passively the exercise of their muscles by external means, so the enervated nature, too sensitive to desire or endure a genuinely earnest activity, will gain at second-hand, itself remaining quiescent, the subtle self-consciousness which is its greatest pleasure ; the class which has leisure, money, and opportunity to profit extensively by the musical advantages of our great cities will continue to be that which is rather demoralized than uplifted by these advantages ; and the school of thought which exaggerates the merit of sensation as the be-all and end-all of existence will exert an influence increasingly wide-spread, even over those who know nothing of its origin, its exponents, or its philosophy. One can at least, however, point out a danger, can emphasize a tendency ; and this, and this alone, is what we have tried to do.

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#### A BIBLE STUDY: CHRIST'S TEACHING CONCERNING HEREDITY.

SOME of the significant teachings of our Lord were suggested by perplexing questions which were submitted to Him. He improved occasions which naturally arose in common life to adjust religious truth to existing conditions. He thus came into contact with reflection at its wakeful points. Such an occasion offered itself when Jesus, with his disciples, passed by a man who was known to be blind from his birth. The disciples asked whether the man sinned, or his parents, that he was born blind. Jesus

replied: Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him. The incident and conversation are recorded in the opening verses of the ninth chapter of John's Gospel. Except at this time Christ did not deal with questions relating to heredity. The single utterance is, therefore, the more emphatic. It was made in order to lead his listeners away from an erroneous explanation of the evils of life to a correct view.

The calamities from which people suffer were generally supposed in ancient times to be in punishment of some sins which they had committed openly or secretly. When Job had lost his property and children and health, his most intimate friends argued that he must be guilty of some heinous offense. Christ had in view this popular opinion when he asked concerning eighteen unfortunate persons who had been killed by the falling of a tower if it was really supposed they were sinners above all others in the city because they suffered such things. But when the disciples saw a man whose blindness was from birth the common theory seemed to break down. He could not have sinned before he was born, and in some confusion of mind they asked Jesus whether the man sinned, or his parents, that he was born blind. Christ did not mean by his reply that the man and his parents were free from sin, but that neither his sin nor their sin was the cause of his blindness. While it is true that human sin is the cause of human suffering, yet it is not for us to particularize. Life is not of so simple a pattern that its threads can be separated and traced from end to beginning. They cross and recross too often.

Yet He did teach his disciples that the man's blindness was permitted in order that the works of God might be made manifest in him, and soon the miraculous cure which illustrated the power of Christ and produced faith in the man revealed the works of God wonderfully. We are, perhaps, to understand that all physical suffering, all bodily infirmity, every thrill of anguish, every throb of pain, even in little children who have never sinned, is permitted, in order that the works and the love of God may, sooner or later, be manifested. This is a comforting thought.

But other facts besides the fact of physical suffering are suggested by the perplexity and the questions of the disciples. How are we to explain all of those evils and restraints which are placed upon men by no fault or choice of their own? Not only are people born with physical blemishes and with seeds of disease which hinder their happiness, but there are also inherited weak-

nesses, mental and moral, peculiar temperaments, strong propensities to certain kinds of wickedness, with which also they are born, from which they can by no possibility escape, but which must always be a fruitful source of unhappiness, or even of misery. And when, as we pass by, we see one or another laboring under disadvantages imposed on him from birth by constitutional characteristics or inherited appetites, we cannot help asking for some explanation; we cannot help pondering the responsibility and the destiny of such persons. When, after a wider investigation, we find that all, ourselves included, are restricted in some measure by native peculiarities, we perceive that we are in the presence of facts most profound in their significance and far-reaching in their extent. And, although the problem cannot be solved completely, the question of the disciples and the answer of Christ throw some light upon it.

Let us first notice carefully some of the facts just referred to, and see where they lead us. We observe, then, that every person has some weakness of character or inborn tendency productive of sin, and which is peculiar to himself. Here, for instance, to take a very common example, is a man who has an irritable temper. He takes fire as easily as tinder, flaming up at the slightest provocation. He is constantly taking offense when no offense was intended. He will say and do in the heat of passion what he will bitterly regret before the sun goes down. But when he was an infant, before he could speak, his parents saw that he had a violent temper, and predicted even then that he would always suffer from it. Some seem to be born with untruthful dispositions. By nature they are secretive, duplex. What their eyes see or their ears hear loses or gains much when their lips repeat it. Sometimes to shield themselves, sometimes for no apparent reason, except from force of habit, they try to deceive. They have always been untruthful. They go astray as soon as they are born, speaking lies. Some are of a doubting disposition. They are not willing to accept anything on trust. From childhood they had a thousand questions to ask upon every new subject. When religious truths are presented they are sure to be skeptical. Yet others are so credulous or confiding that they are always being imposed upon in business and friendship. Some are unduly sensitive, and suffer from the fancied neglect of others. Some are unduly proud, and live in a cold isolation.

But, besides individual tendencies to wrong-doing, it is also frequently the case that bad traits of certain kinds belong to a whole

family. It is a recognized fact that peculiarities of body, mind, and character are transmitted from parents to children. No study is more fascinating than the study of the laws of heredity. When a baby is born almost the first question is, Whom does he resemble? For months and years friends peer into the child's face to discover, if possible, the family likeness. It has its mother's eyes or its father's mouth. If no marked resemblance can be found, the comment is, "How singular that this child is unlike every one in the family." Resemblance is strange, but the absence of it is more strange. A physical feature appears and reappears for generations. A delicate ear, looking like a translucent shell, is exactly reproduced. In some instances a generation is skipped, and then the likeness comes out again. A faded portrait or a medallion, two hundred years old, is brought to light, and in it you see the young man who stands by your side looking at it. A prominent nose, high cheek-bones, a fugitive dimple, which characterize members of a family to-day, startle you as you see the same features in antiquated portraits. Mental characteristics are transmitted. Genealogical records show that scholarship of distinct kinds runs in families; that musical tastes are inherited; that a taste for drawing and painting is found in four or five brothers; that practical business talent has been transmitted. The Rothschilds have been the great bankers of Europe for two hundred years, and we attribute their success partly to family characteristics. Even in America, where little attention has been paid to genealogies, we know that certain names have been illustrious from the days of the colonies, as the Adamses and Quincys. Now family resemblances can be traced not only in features and mental traits, but also in morals and character. Some families are noted for liberality, others for stinginess. If your neighbor W. gives to a good object, you have heard, or made, the remark that, considering the family to which he belongs, he has given quite generously. Appetite for strong drink is found to exist in a whole family. Many a son inherits from his father tastes which almost inevitably produce the habit of intemperance. One of the most fearful woes of drunkenness is that it is entailed, and may become more terrible in the son than it was in the father. Strong animal passions predominate in some families, so that the sins of the fathers are repeated in the sons and grandsons. The expressions "good blood" and "bad blood" bear testimony to these well-known laws.

There are also national characteristics as distinctly marked.

Types of national character are preserved for thousands of years. Saxon blood, for example, has always had certain qualities. Its good traits are frankness, endurance, patience, which have distinguished the blue-eyed Saxons of England and their cousins, the flaxen-haired Germans. As far back as they can be traced through their association with other races, the Saxons have been slow, true, sure. The Southern nations of Europe, of another stock, the French and Italians, have more shrewdness, finesse, courtesy, but not so much sincerity. It is a favorite pursuit to collect facts which show that races which have migrated had their present characteristics in the regions from which they long ago wandered away. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that certain moral defects are national. Qualities are found in the negro which predispose him to religious zeal and even extravagance, which indispose him to honesty and industry and truthfulness, and which, although they may be accounted for partly by his past condition of servitude, are chiefly a result of his national or race characteristics, for the natives of some parts of Africa are not unlike the negroes of America. The Indians are thought to be deceitful, perhaps only in self-defense. The Spanish proverb is: "Never, never trust an Indian." The Spaniards themselves are ferocious and superstitious. The Germans are deep thinkers, but, perhaps, too intellective and incredulous. The French are frivolous and unspiritual, careless as children. The Turks are licentious. The English are self-satisfied. The Americans are irreverent and superficial, to say the least. This is a rough sketch, but is sufficiently specific for the present purpose. Custom and tradition enter in to modify, but sometimes to intensify, national traits.

When such facts are viewed on the broadest scale, we come upon the general truth of the sinfulness of the race. Beneath all lies human nature itself, of which we say that it is the same all the world over. The human race is one vast complicated, delicate organism, of which if one member suffers all members suffer with it. When we say of some one that he understands human nature, we mean that there are certain characteristics of the race which are nowhere absent; that he who knows a few men well knows all men; that in Asia or Africa he will know how to deal with them; that he not only knows men, he knows man. And we also mean that he understands that human nature is essentially selfish; that an unselfish man is an exception. We say that to love our enemies, not to resent an injury, is too much for human nature. We say "To err is human, to forgive divine." In a word, we know that

human nature is sinful. We also know that sinful tendencies, like all others, are propagated; that an individual's tendency to evil grows out of the history of his ancestors, as a leaf grows from a twig; that what he calls the family tree is only a twig on the branch of the nation; and that his nation is but one branch of the great trunk and root of human nature that strikes deep into the soil of earth, and is of the earth, earthy. It is a fact scientifically proved, that from generation to generation, through the race, tendencies to evil are transmitted and intensified. Paul, when he wrote about the first Adam, was sweeping into one comprehensive survey the human race itself; was tracing our corruption back, not merely two or three steps, but back and back, till Jews and Romans were lost sight of, till the antediluvians appeared, and at the very beginning of history he describes the first man, who, as tradition had it, fell from a state of innocence. There is the starting-point. Sin entered into the world early in its history. By one man's disobedience many were made sinners, and all are concluded under sin. Every living soul is born with a taint of evil. He belongs to a family, a country, a race, from one or all of which he receives a legacy of moral obliquity. With different individuals it assumes different forms, but every one has inherited propensities which lead him astray.

This is not a distorted view of life brought into agreement with a doctrine. It is given by the commonest observation and the most careful observation. Science and history are strenuous in upholding it. A popular theory is that the history of every nation is determined by its latitude, by its soil and climate, by characteristics brought by ancestors from the places of earlier abode. A brilliant French writer discusses it as he would the development of a plant or insect. He says, in so many words, "A historian may be allowed to act as a naturalist. I have confronted my subject as I would the metamorphosis of an insect." Nothing is considered more certain by students of ethnology than the transmission, not only of physical, but also of mental and moral characteristics along the line of families, of nations, of races. Indeed, it is only too easy to gain recognition of the infirmities which encompass us from birth. We excuse ourselves and others on the ground of inherited traits, natural temperament, personal peculiarities, social and national tendencies, concluding that people must be about what they actually are.

In view of these facts, the questions we ask are in substance the questions of the disciples, — Where does the responsibility



rest? Is there any blame? Is there any release? What does the religion of Jesus Christ say to these undeniable facts? Can it do anything to change them? We shall come presently to Christ's answer, but at this point an observation may be made which prepares the way for his answer.

There is another law, if I may so call it, of human nature, which is found by the side of these laws and tendencies, and which is that any single propensity can be controlled if a motive sufficiently strong is presented. Take, for instance, the man of inflammable temper. He has had it ever since he was born. But there are circumstances under which he can control himself, however strong or sudden the provocation may be. Did you ever know a man who is trying to sell an article or a bill of goods to exhibit any temper toward his customer? You cannot offend a salesman soliciting trade, if you try. Yet commercial travelers are not selected on account of their natural amiability. On the contrary, in their homes they may be exacting and passionate. When it is for one's interest, especially for his pecuniary interest, to govern his temper, in some way or other he will succeed. If an agent by his ill temper should lose customers, what would the head of the firm say if he should plead his constitutional tendency to fly into a passion, remarking that he was born with an irascible temper and that his parents predicted that he would have trouble with it? A profane man has told me that the habit of swearing is so deeply rooted that it has become a second nature. He does not know it when he does swear. Yet I have heard that very man converse with ladies in a drawing-room for hours together without uttering a single oath. Even the appetite for strong drink, which is tyrannical in its demands, and is physical, can be controlled. On account of eagerness for office I have known men to gain a complete victory. On account of his love for a woman I have known a man to abstain from drinking, though when the wedding-day is past the power of self-control mysteriously vanishes. And so it is with almost any natural tendency; if the motive for overcoming is strong enough, in some way or other it will be overcome.

Now is it not true that practical religion is based on this law of human nature? The gospel supplies motives, influences, forces, strong enough to renew the whole depraved nature, to control it, and to purify it. It brings a new and sufficient motive to change the whole man. God saw the world as it was; He knew better than we know the strength of evil, that the generations were bound together by an unbroken and ever-tightening chain of sin-

ful tendencies, and God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish but have everlasting life. *Because* individuals are born with evil dispositions, *because* the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon the children, *because* the nations forget God, therefore Christ came into the world, that in Him, in the truth He unfolded, in the example He gave, in the appeal He made to our consciences and hearts, in revealing the love of God, in the presentation of the mightiest motives, we might gain the victory over our sinful dispositions. Christ is revealed as the Saviour of *men*; not as the Saviour of fallen angels, not as the Saviour of the inhabitants of Saturn, but as the Saviour of men. His is the only name given under heaven amongst *men*, whereby we must be saved. That is, the salvation provided by Christ is adapted to our condition. He saw human nature as it is, every person entangled in a web, whose first threads were spun in the garden of Eden, and He presented motives, or forces, in his person, his life, his death and resurrection, equal to the work of deliverance, and adapted to the work of deliverance. Upon us as we are, with our natural and inherited characteristics, Christ performs his saving work. And it is matter of common observation, as undeniable as the facts of which we have been thinking, that those who truly become the servants of Christ are changed in this very respect, that they obtain genuine control over their inherited faults. The Christian may have a natural tendency to deceive, but if his Christianity does not make him truthful we conclude that he has not much Christianity. He may have a violent temper, but if his religion does not make him patient we conclude that he has not much religion. We do not ask if he avoids all sins except those to which he is constitutionally prone, but is he becoming free from those to which he is naturally inclined. The power of Christ's grace is brought to bear upon our easily besetting sins until they are overcome. That power is shown in thousands who have been radically changed. One's individual faults, his national characteristics, his perverted human nature, all combined are not so strong as the stronger than they who is rightful Lord and Master. "When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace, but when a stronger than he shall come upon him and overcome him he taketh from him all his armor wherein he trusted and divideth his spoils."

Now I think that these observations are in accord with Christ's answer to his disciples: "Neither hath this man sinned nor his

parents, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." The very fact that the blindness was from birth magnified God's power in the cure of the blindness. The difficulty of the work exalts God's glory in accomplishing it. The fact that our sins proceed not from what is exceptional, or as it were accidental, in us, but from tendencies which are the very warp and woof of our constitution, from proclivities with which we were born, magnifies the glory of God when they are brought into subjection by the grace of his dear Son, our Saviour. This, it seems to me, is the significance of his answer. And thus every fact which corroborates the fixedness of selfish characteristics reveals more fully the power of God in changing them. Every discovery which shows the influence of soil and climate over human action, every broad deduction from history which demonstrates the permanence of national characteristics, is at the same time a discovery of the wealth of the divine resources, a demonstration of the sufficiency of redemption. The increasing knowledge which discloses the perversity and almost helplessness of man, which finds the individual under the dominion of natural forces that sweep him along on their resistless tide, so that his personality stands for nothing, does but magnify the power more influential than the physical world, mightier than human nature, which rescues the individual and sets him up upon a rock. Christian character is the same all the world over. The convert in China, India, Africa, becomes self-denying, humble, patient, and exhibits all the characteristics of a Christian in England or America. People in all grades of society, of much culture and of no culture, the high and the low, the rich and the poor, find that in the Lord Jesus Christ which converts them to new uses so that the results are visible to all beholders. Every one knows what Christian life and Christian character are. Every one knows what professed believers in Christ should be. Every one knows that there is a type of character different in its controlling motives from the deeply rooted habits of human nature.

The glory of God shines forth also in the manner of the work. It would be enough that the work is accomplished at all. Yet, while the obduracy of men in sin would seem to demand a violent process in salvation, the Redeemer saves us, not by compulsion, not by a sudden wrench, but by persuasion. He so perfectly adapts himself to our fallen natures that when we are redeemed it is by our own free choice, and never otherwise. The means of grace, like the ointment of clay and the washing in Siloam, which

healed the blind man, are such that we can only say, "Whereas I was blind now I see," being scarcely aware how the marvelous change has been wrought, so gently yet surely has God worked.

But the works of God are made manifest in redemption from inbred sin, not only by the rescue of isolated individuals, but also by making each a link in a new chain of causes. The church of Christ on earth is a new society with laws of its own, exerting its influence on men, perpetuating its power and increasing its power from age to age, changing the destiny of nations, affecting all those problems which have so long baffled the mind, itself a new element which must be considered to understand history or to foresee what the future of any people will be. Think of the material out of which the Christian church has been formed; the fishermen of Galilee, each with his inborn weaknesses; the peasants and nobles of Europe in the Middle Ages, with their peculiar frailties; the mechanics and merchants, mothers and wives of the present time, not unlike all people in that they are only the common clay of human nature, yet this multitude of weak, erring, ignorant men and women have made historical Christianity. The church of Christ not only exists *in* a ruined world, it is part and parcel *of* a ruined world, converted to noble uses, reflecting the light and transmitting the glory of the city of God. Let those who attribute all occurrences to natural causes and inborn characteristics explain the rise and progress of Christianity in the earth, its inward power of purification when corruption creeps in, its steady advance in the face of the mightiest and the subtlest human opposition, and in their failure to account for it, or to predict what it yet may do, acknowledge at the same time the power and the wisdom of God who could bring so divine a spark into the dull mass of human motives and conduct that, like a bulk of black coal, it has become incandescent, and has flamed up in beauty, the light and warmth of the world.

We also have reason to believe that such as are not redeemed, but who become more and more the creatures of the influences around them and of the tendencies within them, do in their very refusal and perversity set forth like a dark background the divine glory. The wrath of man shall praise Him. This is a deep, an unfathomable truth, but nevertheless a truth. At the end it will appear that God did all that could be done, that if any perished it was by fault of his own.

And so, in seeking an explanation of the mysterious fact of sin and our proneness to sin, our inherited faults, our human infirmi-

ties, we are not to go backward seeking for their origin, and inquiring where the blame rests, on us, or our ancestors, or our Creator, but rather forward to the uses God will make of them, and to the power which Christ gains over them. All else is mysterious. This is certain and clear. "Neither hath this man sinned nor his parents;" do not look in that direction; "but that the works of God should be made manifest."

It is not of the first importance to know whether we are or are not responsible for having a natural disposition towards evil. It is enough to know that there is a way of deliverance. Not to be rid of the blame, but to be rid of sin, should be our endeavor. Not how we came to be sinners, but how we may cease to be sinners, should be our anxious inquiry. To this inquiry we have the fullest answer. The origin of sin is left in mystery, the way of salvation from sin is clear as the noonday sun. That Christ has come, setting before us an open door which no man can shut, is enough for us to know, and our aim should be to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, knowing that it is God which worketh in us.

We therefore see where responsibility does rest. We are responsible for accepting or rejecting the salvation that is freely offered to us. We say we are not responsible for being what we are. Perhaps not. And if we were left to ourselves we might not be responsible for the results, deplorable as they would be. But we are not left to ourselves. We talk about our natural characteristics which have made us what we are, our inherited traits which we cannot alter, our peculiar dispositions which make us different from others, our place in a sinful world where God has put us, the mystery of sin, as if God had never interposed to help us. We sometimes talk of these things as if there were no Christ and no Cross. *O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of the body of this death? I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and of death.*

*George Harris.*

## EDITORIAL.

## CHRISTIANITY AND ITS MODERN COMPETITORS.

## II. SOCIAL ETHICS.

WE are now to consider society as it exists in our own time, and with only slight reference to the conditions under which it has developed in the past. Society, having become what it is by certain slow processes, now presents claims and mutual obligations which invite careful investigation. The future cannot, of course, be left out of view, for the results of social services must be included in order that a judgment may be formed concerning their value and necessity.

A comparison will be made between the social ethics of utility and the social ethics of Christianity. It is claimed that the former, which makes usefulness the only standard, provides a sufficient and indeed a complete theory of the duties men owe each other. The theory, therefore, comes into competition with Christianity, which adopts for the rule of social life a standard other than that of simple utility. It is maintained that all the moral claims of modern society, without exception, may be met by a calculation of useful consequences, and that such calculation is easily made because it deals with plain and hard facts. It is consequently maintained that Christianity which sets up ideals of sentiment and standards of unworldly virtue is superfluous, if not misleading, in relation to the welfare of society, and that it should, at least in the realm of social obligations, be superseded by the more practical rules of solid and attainable utility.

We shall not maintain that Christianity takes no account of consequences, but shall argue that mere utility, in any proper use of that word, reckons only one kind of consequences, while it leaves out of sight other results, which must be recognized in order to judge even what will be useful. In place of the complete whole of social welfare, utility substitutes part, and that a part which has meaning and value only in connection with the whole. The theory of utility is distinctly adopted and defended by some, and by others is acted on without having been formulated. We shall study it, therefore, both as theory and practice which cannot at every point be sharply separated.

I. We inquire first concerning the social ethics of utility. It professes to be both the explanation and the direction of a tendency which has become strong in modern times, and which, as all agree, deserves only commendation. That tendency is found in the disposition to promote the well-being of mankind. However the well-being may best be secured, the disposition has never been so prevalent or so unmistakable. It is generally admitted that one's fellow-creatures have claims upon him, in addition to the claims which are enforced by civil law. That man is an exception who has no public spirit and is indifferent to philanthropic



motives. One who feels no inner response to the needs of others is careful to simulate sympathetic feelings. Generosity is essential to respectability. Neighborhood is not narrowly confined. Relief runs to calamity on the other hemisphere, announcing by telegraph that it is on the way. Benevolence, indeed, draws instantly on the deposits commerce has made in the remotest cities. Charity is as great a traveler as enterprise.

There is no question as to the reality and extent, but only as to the method of duty. All are asking, not whether they should desire, but how they may promote the welfare of others. Now, utility carries the practical spirit from the material to the moral activities. Philanthropy should go to work in a business-like fashion. It should foresee the exact results of its endeavors. When money is called for it should know precisely what is coming in return for so much that has gone in. Thus societies multiply almost beyond computation for the relief or the advancement of fellow-creatures. The list of charitable organizations of a city occupies as many pages of the directory as the list of churches occupies. Every society has a distinct object and reaches a definite result. So many tons of coal are distributed, so many pairs of shoes provided, so many agents employed, so many visits made, so many situations found, and if it is suspected that any influence has escaped which cannot be reckoned in figures by the Treasurer, a careful description, with exact analysis of motives, may be found in the accompanying report of the Secretary. Immediate and practical results are the end in view. Utility tries to compass more than the relief of physical destitution. It would educate the ignorant, and so establishes schools everywhere. It attacks moral evils, and legislates against intemperance, easy divorce, impure literature. Utility turns to social conditions which are just beginning to crystallize, and according to which men are in danger of grouping into antagonistic classes. It studies the relations of capital and labor, the increasing proportion of foreigners, the abnormal growth of cities, and looks about for remedies to apply to the social disorders which threaten. It maintains that all efforts for the amelioration or the improvement of society should be brought sharply up to the test of usefulness. A course of action which promises no useful result, and pretty soon too, should not be adopted. What is not practical is not practicable. It is assumed that it is seldom or never difficult to determine the particular acts which are likely to be useful to society, that at any rate utility is the most definite as it is the best working theory of social ethics.

Christianity is said to be inferior in this respect, for, at the best, it makes the present welfare of men subordinate to other ends. It postpones the principal results to another life, of which even those who believe in it know but little. It expends its energies on spiritual emotions, religious sentiments, abstruse doctrines, the conversion of foreign tribes to a strange religion, and only incidentally addresses itself to practical, pressing needs, or to the difficult social problems of the day. It

is urged, in evidence, that the masses are becoming alienated from the churches, and people do not become indifferent to their real benefactors. It is even maintained that the churches are worse than useless, because they actually disturb the general welfare by emphasizing class distinctions. An eminent jurist is reported to have said that law is doing more than religion for society. This opposition to Christianity is not organized into the visible form of institutions, with local headquarters, but is entrenched in sentiments and theories which rapidly gain strength in this preëminently practical age. The contention is that Christianity, whether or not it is true as a doctrinal system, is failing to do its work in the society and for the humanity of to-day.

This theory may seem to disagree with the opinion noticed in the previous article of this series, in which we discussed the slow evolution of society. The tendency of that view is to the opinion that it is better not to meddle with the intricate forces of social progress. Perhaps one who holds both theories would argue that if any interference is attempted it should have an obvious tendency to produce some useful result, and that when utility is not the motive, nothing should be done.

Utility, considered either as a practical guide or an abstract theory of duty, has one real and one apparent merit. Its real merit is that it recognizes the claims of others as unquestionable. Its apparent merit is that it professes to furnish a rule which is readily applied under all circumstances.

It is a real merit, then, of the rule of social ethics which has been described, that it imposes on every person the obligation to seek the welfare of others. Every man has his rights, and therefore his duties, in the social order. It also has emphasized the impartiality of social duty. Each to count for one, and none for more than one, is a maxim which has been adopted to signify that no one should be ignored, since each is a distinct person with his proper claims, and that no one should encroach on the rights of others by reason of any adventitious importance, since each has only the rights of a single personality. Decided opponents of utilitarianism admit that it has this excellence. Professor T. H. Green says that "impartiality of reference to human wellbeing" has been the great lesson it has taught. By insisting that the greatest happiness of the greatest number must be sought, a wide range has been given to public and social obligation. The utilitarian, although his interpretation of the greatest good has not been correct, has been perfectly correct with regard to the subjects who have claims. No class, no person, should be left out of the account. The theory, as Professor Green further observes, "has made men watchful of customary morality, lest its rules should be conceived in the interest of some particular class of persons, who probably, without being fully aware of it, have been concerned in establishing and maintaining them." The utilitarian does not insist, either, that regard for others proceeds from self-interest. While he holds that pleasure or happiness is the only intelligible end to work for, he admits that one does

not necessarily, when he seeks the happiness of others, have his own ultimate happiness in view. Egoism sometimes seeks the good of others merely to secure its own objects, as with the man politically, or the woman socially, ambitious. But no one can fail to see that benevolence is different from self-interest, and that some efforts to promote the welfare of others refuse to be reduced to selfish motives. It is seen that there is a sympathetic impulse which is, or has become, natural, and which carries with it sense of oughtness. This impulse has been strengthened by those changes which have brought the remotest portions of the country, and of the globe, into easy communication. Even if some utilitarians argue that self-interest prompts all humane conduct, the best of them would not seriously contend with Martineau, when he maintains that from 'each to himself' to 'each for all' there is no road. Sympathy prompting to duty is as ultimate as any element of human nature. It is a real merit of utilitarianism, then, especially as it has been expounded in treatises, that it recognizes the right of all men to the pursuit of some kind of good, that it enforces impartiality in promoting the general welfare, and that it perceives in sympathy, with its accompanying sense of obligation, a primary impulse of man as man.

The apparent merit of the ethics of utility is that it professes to furnish a rule which is easily applied in all cases. It is believed that the test which works admirably in the administration of local charities is both sufficient and plain for all humane obligations. When it is proposed to establish an asylum or a soup-kitchen nothing needs to be considered but usefulness. How many persons will the proposed charity reach? How much is already done for them? What will the immediate outlay, and what will the current expenses, amount to? Will the working of the plan be to discourage begging and to encourage self-dependence? The last question raises, it is true, a point relative to character as well as to the general good, but, on the whole, what are called the charities are controlled by considerations of usefulness. When other kinds of service for society are to be determined, and which include a larger number of conditions, conclusions are not, it is true, as quickly reached. Educational and socialistic problems are more perplexing. Regulation of the hours of labor, of the grade of studies in public schools and in colleges, legislation as to temperance and divorce, the scale of luxury in the habits of the wealthy, the expenditure of money on art and amusements, cannot be determined offhand by tests of utility. Still, it is easier to decide by that rule than by any other, and, as matter of fact, utility is the test even with those who think their moral standards are Christian rather than secular. In a New England village men are to vote for or against license. Shall the sale of intoxicating liquors be prohibited entirely, or shall certain trusty persons be licensed to sell under stipulated conditions? A meeting is held the Sunday before election-day in the Town Hall. One and another give their reasons for opposing license. The local grocer says that he does not calculate results, but votes against license on 'principle.' He

makes that observation because the postmaster has said that he is for prohibition for the reason that the town pays out more for the poor and the police, under license, than it gets from the sale of permits. But 'principle' in such a case, it is said by utilitarians, is only 'expediency' on a wider scale. The grocer has got it into his head that drinking is bad for health and bad for society under all conceivable circumstances. Drinking is not wrong in itself considered. It is opposed on principle only because it is so much more likely to make men miserable than to make them happy. Thus, it is argued, under all circumstances, if duty to others can be made clear at all, it is because some useful results are seen to follow a given course of action. But religious reformers, rushing about in a crusade against the existing order of things, end by leaving matters in a worse muddle than ever, having accomplished nothing but to stir up discontent, and at length men of practical judgment have to be called in to set things to rights again.

But this boasted advantage of ready application is only an apparent merit. Until the point is reached at which perplexity arises, moralists of all schools are in agreement as to what should be done next. But where perplexity does arise, as it surely will when we go beyond the physical welfare of society, tests of mere usefulness are found to be inadequate. When conditions are new, experience is incapable of giving advice. All are agreed that healthy houses, thorough drainage, pure water, temperate habits, constant occupation are good for people. But all are not agreed on a thousand other matters of which the consequences are not easily foreseen. Shall a young man of brilliant parts become a lawyer, or a journalist, or a clergyman? If a lawyer, shall he devote himself to criminal or to civil law? If to civil law, shall he make a specialty of probate, or admiralty, or railroad, or insurance law, or shall he seek a general practice? Shall he always make the best case for his client, or shall he regard first of all the equities? If he becomes a journalist, shall he edit a literary magazine, or a political weekly, or a local daily newspaper? If he becomes a clergyman shall he be an intellectual, or a refined sensational, or a punctiliously orthodox, or a popularly progressive, or a ritualistic, or a spiritual preacher? Shall he take a fashionable church, or a city mission, or a frontier field, or a foreign service? Shall a gifted woman devote herself to society, or music, or literature, or her family? Shall a man of wealth endow institutions, or support missionary societies? Shall he do his giving while he is alive, or shall his benevolence be testamentary? Shall one advocate the opening of libraries and museums and the running of excursion steamers on Sunday, or shall he oppose such innovations? These are the questions which continually arise, and on correct answers to which progress beyond customary standards principally depends. It is not so much by repeating benevolences which are obviously useful, as by new adjustments, that the old order changes. Is utility a sufficient guide at the points where advance is to be made, and is it, after all, of so easy application?

The theory of utilitarianism is that the welfare of society consists in securing the greatest happiness for the greatest number. All philosophies of this system agree that the useful is coincident with the happiness of men, that it consists in providing the greatest possible amount of pleasure with the least amount of pain. The best condition for individuals and for society is that in which pleasurable sensations predominate over painful sensations, and in such a way that the enjoyment of to-day will not entail pain to-morrow. Or, since pleasures cannot be piled up on a shelf and handed over in fixed quantities, people should be brought into such a state that they will be capable of obtaining pleasure and avoiding pain. One should not interfere with others in the pursuit of pleasure. The lovers of one grade of pleasures must not bring society to such a condition, or make it so insecure, that the lovers of another grade of pleasures will be thwarted.

What, now, can be more difficult than to foresee what course of action will contribute most largely and certainly to the sum of general happiness? There is no agreement as to the items which should be put in to constitute such a sum total. The pleasures of one are not those of another man. The pleasures of one are not those of another class. If a certain course is adopted success in it may add to the happiness of one group of persons, but only at the expense of the happiness of another group. If social or mercantile customs are strengthened one class may become better contented, but another class more miserable. But even if one knew what the results of his action would be, he cannot rise above the average of conduct. To do so would be a waste of energy. The only sources of happiness are those which actually yield happiness. The way in which people ought to be happy may not be the way in which they will be happy. What people ought to desire, but do not, can give them no pleasure. There is no pleasure for a coarse society in refined pursuits, for a licentious age in customs of chastity, for an ignorant people in the promotion of philosophy and literature. To labor for that which people ought to desire, or to create new desires in them, is a discouraging task, and there is no certainty, even then, that their enjoyment would be increased. To prepare the conditions of a better society in the future so that posterity will desire only the highest pleasures is too visionary an end to engage the attention of a practical utilitarian. Has one any distinct means of calculating whether the practice of law or devotion to journalism will produce the largest amount of happiness to the greatest number of people? Can he put in one scale the lawyer's expected fortune with the power it will give in society, and the prospective political opportunity, and in the other scale the influence he may have through the press, and the control he will have, as the power behind the throne, of the politicians themselves, and strike the balance by an estimate of the general happiness? If he thinks about his power to elevate society, he has in mind something other than mere utility, for that can be resolved only into conferring pleasure or removing pain. The end of

such calculation will be that one chooses what will give himself the most pleasure during the period of his active career, and that society sinks lower and lower.

The difficulty is increased because there is no common term to which the happiness of all people can be reduced. How shall the happiness of a sensualist be compared with that of a philosopher, the pleasure of an epicure when a new dish is brought to him with the pleasure of Darwin when he discovers the law of evolution, the pleasure of a victorious prize-fighter with the pleasure of a successful author? What is the common denominator above which numerators may be placed which differ only in size, and which may therefore be compared? Why should one promote the intellectual rather than the physical pleasure of men? Is not as much happiness gained by reversing a familiar maxim into the praise of high living and plain thinking? Is there not more sense than satire in the remark of a gentleman when he said that there is nothing better than a good dinner, a good drink, and a good cigar? If one finds sparkling conversation indispensable as a condiment, has he keener enjoyment than another, who, remarking that the host has the best French cook in London, suggests to his fair neighbor that conversation be postponed to the drawing-room?

The impossibility of striking the balance of pleasure, if only quantity is considered, leads to a discrimination as to quality. Some kinds of pleasure are totally unlike other kinds of pleasure. Some kinds of pain are preferable to some kinds of pleasure. "It is better," says John Stuart Mill, "to be a human being dissatisfied, than to be a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied." But when quality enters in and kinds of pleasure are to be distinguished, something besides the happiness of pleasurable conditions is introduced. Immediate or even remote utility is seen to be inferior to worth of character, and we are rapidly passing over to Christian ground. Then, the elements which are unlike in pursuits are seen to be much more important than the pleasure in which they seem to be alike, and what really has to be considered is that which must be distinguished from mere pleasure or happiness. It is not the more or less of enjoyment which differences Socrates from a fool, but something which is held in our thoughts quite apart from pleasurable conditions.

Thus, when we get beyond the importance of good health and physical comfort, it is difficult, having in view the greatest happiness of the greatest number, to know how to make any choices in respect to pursuits or recreations, how to use wealth, how to rear a family, how to cultivate one's mind, how to act with regard to social customs. Such questions are not answered intuitively on any ethical theory, but we argue that the merit of ready applicability which is claimed for the ethics of utility is only an apparent merit. The application is easy on such a theory only at those points where it is easy on any theory. Difficulties arise as fast as new problems arise, and therefore in respect to nearly all conditions ex-



cept physical conditions. A result is that the substitution of practical ethics for Christian ethics contracts the field of social obligation. That which can be seen to be directly useful is but a small part of the service society needs. To restrict efforts to producing pleasures which can be weighed and measured is to remove a bad result here and there, while the causes of evil are left untouched. It is to abandon those difficult undertakings which reach out to prevailing customs and to conditions rooted in selfishness, yet where, after all, the needs of society are most urgent.

Those who estimate their duties with regard to the sum total of welfare are quite likely to make exceptions in their own favor when others will not know of the departures, and to relax conformity to the accepted standards of virtue when they can do it secretly. The propriety of this, if we correctly understand him, is seriously defended by Mr. Sidgwick, and the danger of it is vividly portrayed by Dr. Martineau, in their respective treatises on Ethics.

II. It is only under Christianity that the duties men owe each other can be properly discharged or even comprehensively understood. This is true because it recognizes the absolute worth of personality, and in securing that promotes the wellbeing of society.

That which utility makes a reproach against Christianity is really its strength and glory. Practicality says that the gospel in seeking the future salvation of individuals neglects the present welfare of society. Christianity contends that by procuring the everlasting salvation of individuals it best advances the welfare of society. The gospel in providing everlasting salvation emphasizes the worth, the absolute worth, of every man. To recognize his worth is to perceive that perfection, not happiness, is the true end of his being. Utility would promote the temporal welfare of men, and can do so only by aiming at the most general distribution of happiness. But the worth of man is higher than enjoyment, and absolute worth is the very core of the doctrine of everlasting salvation. Even when the representations of a future life are physical rather than spiritual, and when salvation is thought of chiefly as rescue from remote dangers, yet the belief that man is immortal is made distinct, and this is the belief of his imperishable worth. To take time as the measure of salvation, so that unending duration is the principal thing, is, to be sure, to estimate salvation improperly. But even so, men are confronted with the absolute, undying worth of the soul. To picture heaven as consisting in desirable outward conditions is, undoubtedly, to take a low view of man's destiny. But it is not forgotten that, in some sense, worth of character is the indispensable condition of obtaining heaven. Besides, whatever may have been true in the past, salvation is now almost invariably represented as a spiritual character which outlives death rather than as a state of material delights. The point to be made is that Christianity raises the estimate of man's needs far above his outward circumstances and his mere happiness. It makes man realize that he is not the creature of a day, but has a life which is immortal, and that there-

fore he should walk worthy of the vocation wherewith he is called. It tells man that he has a soul. Although that word "soul" is often vaguely used, it is well that it has not been relinquished, for it is always understood, even by the illiterate, to mean that man has spiritual and immortal worth. The great philosopher Lotze found no better word to employ as an exact designation of the rational and spiritual faculties of man. At the very first, when the oppressed slave was pointed to the future freedom, the effect was more than to remove discontent. The worth of the slave as a man with a soul was emphasized, a soul for which Christ died, and which would attain immortal glory. The gospel has always made men feel their superiority as persons to the accidental circumstances of the present life, so that, at times, they have had supreme and excessive disregard for the relations of society. Here is the basis of the true ethics. Man is to serve his fellow man by advancing his worth towards absolute perfection rather than by seeking his transient happiness. The dividing line between true and false ethics was drawn before Christianity appeared. The welfare of man, said one school of moralists, consists in the enjoyment of the greatest amount of pleasure and in the avoidance of pain. The welfare of man, said the other school of moralists, consists in the exercise of his highest capacities, even at the cost of hardships and self-denials. Christianity coincides with the latter view, and by its doctrine of everlasting life brings the worth and perfection of man to their highest conception. When belief in an immortal destiny is abandoned, the duty of man to man soon resolves itself into attempts to provide for physical comforts and enjoyments of self-indulgence. It may be doubted if Christianity is strengthened by the tendency of its preachers to leave out of view eternal destiny, and to magnify the importance of the present. Men can best be made mindful of their spiritual worth by frequent thought of the immortality which Christ brought to light.

Christianity also sets forth the ideal of worth for man both in this life and in the life to come. It makes blessedness rather than happiness the ideal state. Blessedness is found in the realization of worthiness. Happiness is found only in the enjoyment of pleasures. Blessedness is independent of external conditions, and may be greatest in sufferings. Happiness is inseparable from fortunate conjunctions of circumstances and from the adjustments of society. The martyr would not be called *happy*, but *blessed*. He does not go to the stake for the happiness he will obtain in being burned, but because his personal worth would be invaded if he refused to die. He does not suffer in order to be happy, although he might be unhappy in saving his life at the cost of fidelity. He is happy because he has done what he ought to do. Right and worth are primary, happiness is incidental. The Beatitudes show that blessedness is gained, not by seeking happiness, but by seeking spiritual perfection. Who has not learned that happiness seldom comes by planning for it, but almost always as the incident of absorbing efforts to accomplish some important result?

Christianity teaches, then, that social duties are on the foundation of worth as distinguished from happiness. It therefore declares that the duty one owes to society is to act in such a way that the worth of others may be realized, or that they may be aided in efforts to realize their own worth. Worth is realized when the moral and spiritual capacities are directed towards their appropriate ends.

There is no danger that this object will be confounded with happiness or mere utility. It may be said that one who is absorbed in intellectual pursuits, or is devoted to religious service, finds thus his greatest happiness, that he would not work in those directions if he could be happier with other aims. But, while it should be expected that man will find the highest satisfaction in doing that which is worthy of his moral and spiritual capacities, and while it is absurd to suppose that there is any virtue in being unhappy, it is the indubitable fact that the object in view is the intrinsic value of that which is sought after, and not the pleasure of engaging in a high pursuit. One does not make worthy use of his powers because it is pleasant to do so, but he finds it pleasant because it is worthy. A healthy man eats not for the pleasure of eating, but to satisfy his hunger. He eats to live; while the epicure lives to eat. A down-right earnest man does his duty, not for the pleasure he enjoys, but for the sake of doing a worthy act. Only a moral epicure, for whom life has no high, intrinsic value, practices the virtues because the vices create disagreeable feelings.

But it will be asked if this conception of personal and social welfare is not open to the charge of vagueness even more than the utilitarian conception. Does it furnish a rule which can be applied in particular cases? If one who is in some perplexity as to the best use of his money is told to employ it so that the true worth of his fellow men will be promoted, is his decision made any easier than if some practical end is pointed out? The worth of men, their highest moral and spiritual good, — who, he says, can tell me what it is, and what will promote it? Yet the rule is more definite than the rule of happiness or utility. It will certainly be admitted that the ideal of moral and spiritual worth is more exalted than the ideal of utility. Every one knows enough to know that there is something higher than pleasure or prudence. Any right-minded person admits that, if he can, he would rather promote the worth of others than to promote their pleasure. A rule which often applies is the clear knowledge one has of that which is worthy for himself. Even his charities may be brought under this rule. He knows that his own worth would be best secured by helping him to help himself. So with others he takes the roundabout way of promoting self-respect rather than the direct way of supplying a want outright. The utilitarian will say that this is the most economical and far-sighted charity. But in bringing men to self-help, the reason is not that it will cost so many thousand dollars less in a period of years, but that it will make better, more self-respecting persons. But, really, the ideal of moral and spiritual worth is clearly given

in the life and teachings of Christ, and in the Christianity which has become familiar. Shall I be a lawyer or a preacher? In which profession, with my gifts, can I best promote the Christian development of society? Shall a brilliant woman devote herself to society or to her family? If circumstances give her the option, that is, if she can be a social leader without neglecting her family, she can reach a decision by asking in which direction she can do more to encourage the Christian temper and spirit. Her influence in society may be very great in the direction of bringing young men and women to worthy uses of themselves under the Christian law. The ideal of Christian personality is not indistinct, but is clearer than any ideal which at all approaches it in loftiness. Christianity is proclaiming and enforcing this ideal continually. It says to the individual, You are a moral and spiritual being, you have an immortal destiny, you are a child of God, and you should live worthy of such a personality. Christ shows you how to realize your absolute worth. You are in a world of beings like yourself. Your duty to them is to enable them also to realize their moral worth. You should therefore endeavor to show them or to have others show them what the true life is, and to bring the influence of example, custom, and persuasion upon them that they may live according to the true intention of their being.

Christianity has a distinct, superior, and absolute system of ethics. It teaches that men owe it to each other to labor, not first for the improvement of outward conditions through which people may be made happier, but first for the worth and goodness of men themselves, according to the high and definite standard of the Christian character. Christianity is not satisfied, therefore, with mere improvements upon the existing order, nor will it turn aside and expend its energies on reforms which affect only the surface of society. The true high end is kept steadily in view. As the Master, when He was on earth, turned away from the immediate results which He might have secured, and for which men would have praised Him, to the establishment of a moral and spiritual society, so his church should do now. Utility then said to Christ, Deliver your nation from a foreign yoke, adjust the difficulties between classes, speak to my brother that he divide the inheritance with me, resolve the social problem, settle property difficulties. But He labored on for remoter but higher ends. Utility is toiling to-day at the same old task, — how to improve outward conditions. It does some useful service, and initiates some soap-bubble reforms. But it does not furnish the satisfactory ethics. It can do little but to remove restrictions on personal freedom — a negative work. Christianity gives the positive law for the good of the individual and society. Indeed, the pressure of restrictions is felt because the ideals of Christianity are trying to find room.

If by utilitarianism is meant ethics with consequences in view, Christianity is utilitarian. But utility means consequences of comfort and happiness; Christianity, consequences of worth and perfection. Utility has gone beyond evolutionary ethics, in that it has an ideal and works to

realize it; but taken all by itself, without dependence on the higher ideals of Christianity, it can perform only a superficial work for humanity.

"It is," says Martensen, "an illusion constantly recurring that the aim of history lies first and foremost in outward conditions, circumstances, and institutions, instead of lying within man himself, in which assertion it is always forgotten that outward perfection can come only when the inward state is ripe for it." One writer generalizes to the effect that epochs in history are epochs in the development of the principle of personality. This has recently been illustrated in an article of our "Review," concerning the English and Germans, who stand for the assertion of personality as against institutions and government. Christianity raises personality to the highest place, making it the end of life to realize personal worth, and the obligation of each to promote the same object in others. It also shows that the Christian character is the true ideal of worth for the person and for society. Other ideals of social welfare are painfully inferior, in that they fail to go deeper than circumstances, and scarcely come in sight of the principle of personality, with its worth and powers. From the emphasis which Christianity has placed on the worth of the person utilitarianism has doubtless gained its maxim that each is to count for one, that every individual has his rights; but it has well-nigh sacrificed all that is of value in that maxim by seeing nothing but a right to happiness. The gospel establishes the principle of personality in declaring that Christ died for every man, and the ideal of absolute worth in declaring that all are one in Christ Jesus, whether, as to outward conditions, they are bond or free.

As a theory, then, of social ethics, the Christian law of love alone is comprehensive and ultimate. But at a given time Christianity may not be influential in society, as was the case in the Middle Ages, or even at subsequent periods. It is, therefore, requisite, not that a different theory of social ethics should be adopted, but that the gospel should put forth its power in living energy. Something may be done by adapting the workings of Christianity to existing conditions, so that it shall not perpetuate methods of the past which pertained not to the substance, but to the form, of truth, and which are outgrown. It should find numerous points of contact with the life of the time. The public services of the church may require fresh adjustment to modern conditions. The indifference which many feel towards the church may be due rather to lack of reality in what it does than to supposed unadaptedness of its intrinsic truth. It is probable, for instance, that preaching should be made more natural and direct, in many pulpits, and withal, more Biblical. Men of to-day are more impressed with the authority of Scriptural truths than with the authority of sound argument. It may be a fair criticism on the pulpit that it is too metaphysical, not in the sense that it employs philosophical terms which are unintelligible, but that it deals with truth which lies in the realm of human powers and activities rather than with truth which lies in the realm of divine revelation. Also, the

worship of the American churches needs enrichment, so that it shall not be meagre and non-congregational on the one hand, nor tedious from prescribed length and unvarying form on the other. There is much reason to believe that many of the churches of this country have become unattractive because all has been trusted in worship to the devotional culture of the minister. There has not been too much attention paid to preaching, but too little attention paid to worship. People will come back to the church if its prayers, responses, hymns, and sacred music are expressive of the praises and devoutness of the great congregation. It is important, of course, that Christians should go out to men and bring them to the churches, but it is comparatively useless to bring them to services which are barren as to worship and abstract or unspiritual as to preaching.

But let us not be understood as advocating the degradation of the church to devices and novelties. The power of the church cannot be revived through kitchens, parlors, entertainments, literary circles. These may have a place in the social duties of a church, but should never be confused with its real function. The function of Christianity is to cultivate the spiritual sentiments of men, to deepen reverence, to fix thought upon those things which are eternal, to bring the soul near God, to keep in the view of men their immortal destiny. For this the church preëminently stands. This service men rightly expect of it. They feel the need of spiritual uplifting, so that they shall not be narrowed by secular pursuits, nor dragged down by selfish motives. A church which is always to men the house of God will not be deserted. But if it busies itself chiefly with the utilities and temporalities and sociabilities it will neglect its true service to society, and will do imperfectly what secret and social and charitable organizations do a hundredfold better. There is little danger in this age that the practicalities will be neglected, but there is great danger that man's moral and spiritual worth as a child of God will be forgotten. When the church ceases to be the spiritual guide of man, his personal worth will be ignored and his social condition will be debased.

It scarcely needs to be added that besides the public service of the church the personal relations of men furnish an opportunity for promoting the Christian welfare of society. The conduct of business, the treatment of employees and domestic servants, the discharge of service for wages, the exercise of hospitality, the use of social leadership, may improve the life and exalt the worth of others to the degree in which the Christian motive is made influential. These concrete relations usually furnish definite direction for contributing to the common welfare in respect of spiritual worth even more clearly than in respect of comfort and probable happiness.

The gospel of Christ, making potent the law of love, does more for the welfare of individuals, even if they are not personally converted to Christian life, than any gospel of utility, and by bringing many from



every social class into the obedience of Christ, it secures the absolute and eternal worth of a multitude of individuals through whom also it elevates the customs and aims of society as a whole.

#### CITY EVANGELIZATION.

WE think that the time has come to bring the discussion of the subject of city evangelization to a clear issue in these two questions :—

(1.) What is the precise work called for and to be prosecuted under the name of Evangelization ?

(2.) What place ought to be conceded to this work among the enterprises of the church ?

We propose to answer briefly these questions according to the view which seems to us most in accordance with the moral and spiritual requirements of our cities.

Our answer to the first question is, that the work demanded is in the simplest and strictest sense that of evangelization. What the city asks of the church, if we rightly interpret its deepest needs, is the gospel of Jesus Christ. The growing demand, that is, of any great city upon its churches, is the demand for religion. Irreligion increases faster than destitution. A city is, in itself, not only a demoralizing, it is also a de-christianizing force. It is ceaselessly at work, through its disintegrating and destructive agencies, upon those institutions and associations which tend to make and to keep men Christians. Hence the natural increase of the non-Christian element in all our great cities. Some of the wards of every great city are full of pagans, without the accessories of paganism. They are not pagans, because they are not religious. They are destitute of Christian ideas and Christian motives. They are not all ignorant, and they are not all poor. They suffer, but their suffering comes from their proximity to vice, or from their participation in it. They represent, in large degree, the very class which received the most considerate and compassionate ministries of our Lord when upon earth,—the class of men and women in whose lives sin and suffering were so blended that nothing but the gospel, in its forgiving and relieving power, could satisfy them. This class needs and wants the gospel always. Evangelization is the offer of the gospel, the proclamation of the glad tidings, the disclosure of the mercy of God, the assurance of forgiveness through an atoning Saviour. It is the business of the church to evangelize a city in every part, to carry the gospel into all its regions of darkness and sin. Charity is but a part of Christianity. It is not enough that the "blind receive their sight, that the lame walk, that the lepers are cleansed, that the deaf hear, that the dead are raised up—to the poor the gospel must be preached."

And if now it be asked how this work is to be accomplished, we answer that the name suggests the means. Evangelization implies evangelists. We unhesitatingly agree with Dr. Pentecost in what he said in

his paper given at the National Council of Congregational Churches in Chicago respecting the need of the revival of the order or function of the evangelist in the ministry of the church. He said: "I do not desire to be understood as criticising my brethren in the pastorate when I say that, as a rule, they are not evangelistic in their preaching and methods. I do not see how they very well can be with all the burden and care of the pastoral office upon them. The enormous demands that are made upon the average pastorate for new and fresh sermons twice a week, with a prayer-meeting address, and, perhaps, a lecture sandwiched in, during the week, have driven them to the study, from which they may only escape to make necessary pastoral calls. This life habit of study and their practical exclusion from all people except members of their own flock and congregation have put them out of touch with the great mass of mankind." And, again: "The work of teaching and edifying has been carried forward at the expense of evangelizing. It is safe to say that the preaching of nine tenths of our pulpits is pastoral rather than evangelistic. I do not say that evangelical truth is not preached, but that it is preached rather from the standpoint of the pastor than from that of the evangelist, — rather with the intention of grounding the believer in the truth than of leading the unconverted to repentance and faith. . . . More than three fourths of our congregations are already believers, and of the other fourth more than half are men and women who have sat so long unconverted under our ministry that we have ceased to look for their conversion."

This is the truth, but it is not the whole truth. Every pastor knows that in the endeavor to adapt the truth to the congregation before him he becomes, in measure, unfitted for purely evangelistic preaching. Evangelistic preaching is the preaching of the gospel of the divine mercy and forgiveness. It is the iteration and reiteration of the love of God for sinners, as declared in the sacrifice of Christ. The evangelist is the preacher whose mind and heart are charged with this one idea of the gospel and with this one application of it. Not all revivalists are evangelists. Many of them are by the habit and tendencies of their mind farther removed from the evangelistic temper and spirit than the average pastor. We are not now advocating the claims of revivalists. We are urging the need of evangelists. We would not see the churches of the city suffer, we would not see the city suffer in its religious needs, through the limitations of the pastorate. We advocate unreservedly the training and the employment of men under that conception of the gospel which is best fitted to deal with the problem of sin and suffering, as intensified by the life of the city. Dr. Pentecost, from whom we have just quoted, is a man richly developed in the evangelistic conception of truth, as well as in the methods of evangelism. We are gratified to learn, through the columns of "The Independent," that, by the action of his church, he has been set free to engage more fully in evangelistic work, and to train others for the work. We shall watch with serious interest

the practical effort which the Tompkins Avenue Church of Brooklyn is making, under the leadership of Dr. Pentecost, for the evangelization of that city.

Our answer to the question, as to the place which evangelistic work is to be allowed among the greater enterprises of the church of the city, is that the moral exigencies of city life are crowding it to the first place. The time has now come, we believe, when the city has the right to ask the church for greatly increased expenditures in men and money. Thus far the city has done more for the church than the church has done for the city. The city has made possible a condition of church life, splendid and imposing in its externals, and of great spiritual impression on the minds and hearts of individual worshippers. The religious devotee can find in the church of the city every incentive to the refinements of spiritual culture. Moreover, the church of the city is equipped with the materials of power. Its benefactions reach far and wide. It is the chief promoter of missions at home and abroad, builds schools and colleges, distributes a Christian literature, and in a thousand ways makes its influence felt over the world. All this the city has made it possible for the church within its limits to be and to do. And in return what has it to acknowledge from the church? Charities, in some degree adequate to its physical necessities, and missions, in every way inadequate to its spiritual needs. It has no debt to acknowledge in the matter of evangelization. The account is far from even. The church still lives from off the city financially and socially, and gives back but a moiety of its gains into the morally necessitous life of the town. It does not give back enough to hold its place in the advancing movement of population. The church has been graphically described as "in retreat before the masses." And under this policy of retreat the masses are smarting under the sense of desertion. The ranks of the indifferent and disaffected are being continually augmented by recruits from the natural constituency of Protestant Christianity. The foreign element of the city population, though more aggressive in its opposition to the church, is not the most dangerous element in opposition. The chief danger comes from those who feel that they have been abandoned by the church, and who in a kind of blind revenge form unnatural alliances with the immoral and irreligious elements of the neighborhood in which they have been left. The Rev. Dr. Edward Judson — certainly a most competent authority — thus describes the process as going on in New York: —

"An untutored workingwoman or man who toils hard and long for what will buy but little of life's needs, who has seen congregation after congregation leave the lower districts of our city because fashion is retreating northward before the advance of business, and it is not considered pleasant or in the best form to maintain a church in a region whose private houses are being gradually transformed into tenements, any hard-pressed wage-worker not blessed with strong faith in God, who has seen Christianity moving out of his neighborhood to the precincts of wealth, and the churches dying, as it were, before his eyes, is apt

to feel somehow as if Christianity were deserting him, as if, because there is a deep snow-drift in front of my door, I should infer that there is deep snow all over the plain. His belief in a good God, in a providing Father, seems to weaken, and we must not be surprised that doubt, at last, supplants faith and atheism grows. So come despair and hopelessness, carelessness and improvidence. So, too, follow ignorance and intemperance, brutality, pauperism, and crime."

Owing to the peculiar configuration of New York city this process of abandonment and desertion is more conspicuous there than elsewhere; but it is going on in every great city. What can arrest it? How can the church recover to itself the territory which is slipping from its grasp? We answer, advance the work of city evangelization to the grade of that of home or foreign missions. If need be, under present exigencies, give it the very first place. To do anything less than this is to trifle with the problem. Why should a city church give \$10,000 annually to home or foreign missions, and \$3,000 to city evangelization? Why should it not bring up its expenditure for the city to the level of its greatest benefaction in any direction? What other course can satisfy the reasonable demands of the city upon its Christian element? As we have before intimated in the discussions of this general subject, we are convinced that little can be accomplished in the way of city evangelization until the church of the city is equipped for work through every day of the week. A Sunday church is, in the eyes of the masses, a class church. An every-day church, ministering through all possible agencies, reaches with a penetrating power into the densest life of the city. Of course the change, on the part of any number of city churches, from Sunday to every-day churches would involve a vast increase in expenditure. We allow this. But will anything less than this suffice? We believe not. The dribbling support which is given to most city-mission organizations is a confession of indifference. It makes the impression of niggardliness, and the city scorns niggardliness wherever it sees it. We advocate, as a present necessity in city evangelization, the establishment of working centres, with a sufficient force of skilled workers to make them effective. Some old church may be reinvigorated and reëquipped, as St. George's of New York has been under the leadership of Dr. Rainsford, or new churches may be built. The chapel, as an appendage of a distant and wealthy church, is no longer an appreciable factor in the problem of city evangelization, and the city mission working through small and unfurnished stations is no longer able to cope with the problem. These agencies may remain, but work must be projected upon broader lines. The modern city is testing the inventive and adaptive power of Protestantism. Thus far Protestantism has shown itself narrow in its methods and niggardly in its use of men. It is now evident that it must greatly widen its methods, and greatly increase its force of men, if it is to save the city.

## A LEAF FROM HISTORY.

THE following account of the origin of the "New York Evangelical Missionary Society of Young Men," is of interest from its authorship as well as from its contents. It was written by Rev. Gardiner Spring, D. D., and published in the first volume of his "Personal Reminiscences." Dr. Spring was for sixty-three years the pastor of the Brick (Presbyterian) Church in New York. He was a corporate member of the American Board from 1824 to 1873. His father, Samuel Spring, D. D., was one of the originators of the Board.

Mr. Samuel H. Cox became Rev. Samuel H. Cox, D. D., LL. D., professor of pastoral theology in the Presbyterian Seminary at Auburn, N. Y., three years, and pastor of Presbyterian churches in Mendham, N. J., and the cities of New York and Brooklyn twenty-nine years. He was a corporate member of the American Board from 1842 to 1870.

"The Young Men's Missionary Society of this city rose from small beginnings, but by very considerable accessions to its members and its resources, and by the enthusiastic spirit which animated it, gave a powerful impulse to the good cause, and promised to be one of the important agencies in the missionary work. It was composed of the young men from all our evangelical churches; its officers were men of intelligence, enterprise, and honored Christian character, and its practical influence upon the young men of our city was of the most desirable kind. But the age of bigotry and dogmatism had not passed away. While I was a member of its Board of Directors in the year 1817, and cheerfully united with my fellow-laborers in the appointment of all well-qualified missionaries of evangelical views, it was not difficult to perceive that the Board were unduly influenced by their apprehensions of the theological errors of some of their own number, as well as of some who were proposed to be employed in their service. The controversy between Hopkinsians and Calvinists was then at its height, and the Board adopted a principle in the appointment of its missionaries which was not only unwise and uncalled for, but utterly subversive of the missionary enterprise. The nomination of the Rev. Samuel H. Cox, who was strongly recommended by myself and Eleazer Lord, Esq., as a young man of brilliant talents, exemplary piety, and sound in the faith, and as strongly opposed by the Rev. Dr. Matthews and others, brought the subject fully and fairly before the Board; and after a thorough investigation of the views of the candidate upon the doctrines of original sin, the nature of true religion, the extent of the Atonement, and the sinner's inability, Mr. Cox was rejected. An appeal from this decision was made to the society itself, constituted, as it was, of men of evangelical views, though differing in their construction of some Calvinistic doctrines. The meetings of the society were held in the session-room of the old Brick Church, where, for several successive evenings, the questions and the doctrines involved were freely and abundantly dis-

cussed. It was a most exciting scene. The principal advocates of the decision of the Board were the Rev. Dr. Matthews, the Rev Dr. McLeland, and Thomas Warner, Esq., and the principal opposers of that decision, George Griffin, Theodore Sedgewick, Eleazer Lord, Esqs., and the Rev. Dr. Spring. We traversed the whole disputed territory, and, with some discourteous interruptions from Dr. Matthews, were listened to with patient earnestness. It was purely a theological discussion, and such an one as I have never listened to before, nor since; and threw more light upon the minds of the masses, in relation to the doctrines of the Reformers, than could have been easily thrown in any other way, and in the same time. It formed a memorable epoch in the history of the Presbyterian Church. A few men, advanced in years, are still living among us who have more than once testified to the importance of this discussion in forming their doctrinal opinions. It was a season of deep interest to the clergy of our city and land; some of them fearing, and others hoping for, an open division in our evangelical churches. No small influence was exerted against us by the talent, standing, and piety of some of our fathers in the ministry, and the result was, the society vindicated the action of the Board in the rejection of the candidate. We were in the minority; and immediately after the meeting at which these discussions were concluded, proceeded to organize a new society. As a matter of history, the following document is here inserted, presenting more fully the *facts* which led to this result.

“ ‘Defense to ourselves, if not to the public, demands an explanation of the origin and design of the NEW YORK EVANGELICAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF YOUNG MEN. An event of so much notoriety as the secession of more than one hundred young men from an institution whose professed object is the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, cannot, at first view, be regarded but with sentiments of regret. At an age of the world when the various denominations of Christendom begin to feel that they have attached too much importance to the things in which they differ, and not enough to those in which they agree; when the dissemination of the Gospel is the great and common cause which unites the affections, the prayers, and the exertions of the great family of believers; and in the promotion of which they already begin to find a grave for their party spirit and sectarian prejudices; nothing but considerations of commanding influence can justify a disjunction of missionary labors. Charity suffereth long; but there is a point beyond which Christian forbearance cannot be extended, and when the wisdom that cometh from above demands a struggle, not only to extend the Redeemer's kingdom abroad, but to maintain its independence at home.

“ ‘Considerations of this imperative character did exist, and led to the organization of this infant institution. On the 23d of January, 1809, a number of young men of different religious denominations in the city of New York, formed themselves into a society for the purpose of raising a



fund to aid in promoting the objects of the New York Missionary Society. So unexpected was the success, and so hopeful the promise of this institution, that, on the 14th of February, 1816, it resolved on the future management of its own funds, independently of the parent society. It was no longer the Assistant New York Missionary Society, but the Young Men's Missionary Society of New York.

"Though it was expected that this institution would consecrate its efforts to the great work of disseminating the Gospel, without descending to the littleness of party distinction, circumstances of no equivocal import very early indicated that there were some unhappy jealousies in the Board of Directors on the subject of Christian theology. A studious effort to avoid bringing the points of difference into view, together with the spirit of mutual conciliation and confidence, which appeared to be gradually increasing, it was hoped, would repress everything like secret alienation, as well as remove the possibility of open rupture. But in this respect the fondest hopes were defeated. These miserable jealousies had never slept. At their recent session on the 11th of November last, Mr. Samuel Hanson Cox, without his own knowledge, was nominated to the Board as a suitable candidate for the missionary service. Mr. Cox was himself a member of the Missionary Society, and in October last was licensed to preach the Gospel by the unanimous vote of the Presbytery of New York. The minority were at no loss to determine that this nomination was not grateful to the majority of the Board. As the most compendious method of overruling it, and with the impression that the funds of the society would not authorize the appointment of more than one missionary in addition to the one in actual employment, the Rev. Arthur J. Stansbury, of the Associate Reformed Church, was introduced to the Board as a rival candidate. With the hope of avoiding concussion, and with the desire to evince an exemption from party prejudice, the mover of the resolution nominating Mr. Cox, begged leave to insert the name of Mr. Stansbury in conjunction with that of Mr. Cox, thus placing the candidates of either side on equal ground. But the difficulty was neither removed nor diminished. The apprehension was too well grounded that the object to be secured by the majority was not the appointment of Mr. Stansbury, so much as the rejection of Mr. Cox. The appearance of this determination, while it did not allay the fears of the minority, excited equal surprise and regret. Nothing but the thorny field of controversy now lay before them. Still reluctant, however, to hazard the interests of a society hitherto so prosperous, anxious to avert the probable issues of a public conflict, and most unwilling to embarrass the Redeemer's cause by dissension among his professed followers, the minority were happy to have it understood that the subject be informally referred to the *Committee of Missions*.

"That committee were convened on the following Monday. The name of Mr. Cox was mentioned with diffidence and solicitude. No objection was made to his talents or piety. It was too well known to be

disputed, that, in both these particulars, he enjoyed no small share of public confidence. The majority of the committee had, however, unhappily associated with the name of Mr. Cox certain religious sentiments which they deemed *unsound*, and which they supposed to be inconsistent with the character of a useful missionary. It was not to be concealed that, in the great outlines of truth, his views accorded rather with those entertained by Calvin, Edwards, Bellamy, Scott, Smalley, Dwight, Pierce, Ryland, Fuller, and, indeed, with the great body of the Christian world in this period of enlightened piety, than with the incoherent and unintelligible dogmas with which local intolerance seems resolved to burden the Church of Christ. If not to believe that we actually sinned in Eden, six thousand years before we were born; if not to believe that the inability of the unregenerate to comply with the terms of salvation is the same as their inability to pluck the sun from his orbit; if not to believe that the depravity of man destroys his accountability; if not to believe that the Atonement is made exclusively for the elect; if not to believe that the elect are invested with a title to eternal life, on principles of distributive justice, while destitute of renewing and sanctifying grace; if not to believe that the Christian's love of God is founded in selfishness, as completely as the miser's love of gold; if want of assent to these repulsive notions disqualifies a man for the missionary service, then, doubtless, Mr. Cox is disqualified. But if a cordial adherence to the truth that through the sin of Adam all mankind are sinners from the first moment of their own existence; that the inability of the unregenerate, though absolute, inculpates rather than excuses them; that, notwithstanding his apostasy, man is still a free agent, and accountable for his character; that the Atonement is unlimited in its nature, and limited only in its application; that the salvation of the elect is not of debt, but of grace; that all holy affection, though caused by the divine Spirit, is founded on the divine excellence rather than the divine favor; if a firm belief and cordial reception of these glorious truths qualifies a man for the ministry of reconciliation, then the minority have every reason to concur in the unanimous opinion of the Presbytery of New York that Mr. Cox is qualified.

“Notwithstanding this diversity of sentiment, it has been well understood that there was no reluctance on the part of the minority to cooperate with the majority in any measures to advance the missionary cause. While the minority loved the truth, and designed to maintain it, it was far from their purpose and their wishes that the spirit of theological controversy should creep into the missionary society, or these differences in doctrine ever be recognized in their appointment of missionaries. Nor can they be accused of a single departure from this catholic principle. In the appointment of Mr. Cox, they asked no more than they were willing to give. Presuming that questions of similar import might hereafter agitate the society, unless the present case should be avowedly decided as a precedent, the committee agreed, without a dissenting voice, to decide upon the present nomination as involving the principle, whether

any man holding Mr. Cox's sentiments should be eligible to their employment? With this important question before them, they separated without a decision, agreeing solemnly and prayerfully to review the whole subject, and convene for their final decision on the following Friday.

"On Friday all were present, except one in the minority. There was much inquiry and some discussion. After having received a full development of Mr. Cox's views from a member of their own Board, the committee resolved, *"That it is inexpedient to recommend Mr. Cox to the Board of Directors as a missionary."* The ground of this resolution was but one — that the religious sentiments of Mr. Cox savored so much of error, and contained so visibly the germ of heresy, that the committee felt bound to withhold from him their sanction as a missionary of the cross. The votes were four for and two against this resolution; when it was resolved *unanimously*, That it is inexpedient to recommend to the Board the Rev. Arthur J. Stansbury as a missionary.

"The evening of the same day was to convene the Board of Directors to receive the report of this committee. On the reading of this report it was moved, That, notwithstanding the decision of the Committee of Missions, Mr. Samuel H. Cox be appointed a missionary in the service of the society for the term of six months. After discussing this resolution at considerable length, the Board determined to follow the example of the Committee of Missions, and defer their decision to a further meeting. On Friday of the next week they met, when all the directors were present. Either with the hope of avoiding a full discussion of the resolution on the table, or with the expectation that the minority would resist the proposal, it was moved by the majority that the further consideration of the proposition respecting the employment of Mr. Cox be deferred, in order to consider the recommendation of the Committee of Missions respecting Mr. Stansbury. Whatever might have been the views of the minority of such a course of measures, they determined not to oppose them, and therefore cordially united with the majority in engaging Mr. Stansbury as their missionary. The contrast between the conduct pursued by the minority and that persisted in by the majority, must strike every Christian eye, and impress itself on every Christian heart.

"Not without the hope that the liberal sentiments of the minority in this appointment would soften the rigor of the majority, the motion was renewed for the appointment of Mr. Cox. Very considerable discussion ensued. The minority used every effort to ward off and lighten the shock. They entreated the majority to avoid the hazard of a rash decision. They entreated them to regard the honor and prosperity of the common cause. They entreated them not to lose sight of the grand object of the institution, and forget the claims of the perishing. But it was all in vain. A tide had set in, which could not be turned out of its course; a torrent which it was hopeless to resist; a deluge of intolerance which threatened to sweep away every mound, and in its progress to

desolate the fairest portions of the Redeemer's heritage. The lamentable decision was passed, negating the appointment of Mr. Cox as a missionary, and virtually recognizing the principle that no man of similar views could be patronized by the Board. The votes on this question stood twelve to six. Two members of the Board, at heart with the minority, from considerations of peculiar delicacy which did them honor, declined voting, who, from considerations of high attachment to truth and justice which have done them greater honor, have since connected themselves with the newly-organized institution, and accepted a seat in its direction.

“ There is something in the retrospect of what is wrong that goads the mind. After all the promptness with which it is accomplished, the aspect of evil, after it is done, is ugly and distressing. The deed was performed, and it was fondly hoped that some misgivings of heart were discoverable on the part of the majority. The inquiry was made by the minority, and reiterated by the less determined of the majority, Is there no way in which this breach can be healed? Lest it should be imagined by some of the majority, and lest the intimation should possibly be suggested at some future period, that the minority were contending for an individual, rather than for those whom he represented, and were more attached to the name of Mr. Cox than to the principle involved in their discussion, they submitted the proposition on the spot, though not by a formal resolution, to unite with the majority in declaring it to be inexpedient to appoint Mr. Cox, provided the majority would yield the principle that a licentiate or minister in good standing, holding Mr. Cox's sentiments, should not be considered as an outlaw from the missionary service. The proposition was rejected with a tone of such decision by the leaders of the majority, that there was no other alternative than for the minority either silently to withdraw from the society, or bring the whole subject before them at their annual meeting, which was just at hand. To the latter course they were urged, as well by a multitude of counselors, as by every correct sentiment of duty to themselves and the Church of God. Especially did they consider the claims of the society imperative, because of the fourteen congregations of which it was composed, no less than six of its directors were from the Reformed Dutch church in Garden-street. Whatever might be the views of the great body of the society of the points of faith discussed in the Board, the minority did not believe that they would justify the directors in making these differences the governing principle of their conduct in the appointment of missionaries. At the close of the annual meeting, therefore, a brief statement of what had transpired in the Board, was succeeded by the following

“ “ Resolution : Whereas, it appears that some unhappy differences of opinion concerning certain religious doctrines have existed in the minds of the directors of this society, and that these differences, though involving nothing inconsistent with the constitution or object of this society,

have unduly influenced the minds of the directors in their appointment of missionaries, therefore, Resolved, *That the society disapprove such measures as have been pursued by the Board, recognizing the differences above named as the governing principle of their conduct, and most earnestly recommend to them, in their proceedings as directors, to leave out of view all those disagreements in sentiment which may have a tendency to weaken the union and paralyze the efforts of this once harmonious association.*" After much altercation, and unwearied effort to avoid the discussion by *motions of amendment*, by the introduction of *substitutes*, and by one unmanly effort at an *indefinite postponement*, the minority were permitted to enter upon the discussion, having stricken out of the original resolution the clause openly disapproving the conduct of the directors. . . .

"After several long evenings, the strength and patience of the society were exhausted. As the discussion drew towards a close, and it was seen that a division in the society would inevitably be the result of a vote sustaining the conduct of the directors, the minority resolved to make one more effort to save from impending ruin an institution reared by united labors, and cemented by united prayers and tears. They expressed their willingness to strip the resolution on the table of everything that should have a retrospective influence; they were anxious to overlook all that was past, provided they could have some pledge of toleration for the time to come. Unwilling to relinquish this last, though almost forlorn hope, they begged the privilege of submitting a resolution simply recognizing the principle that licentiatees or ministers of the Gospel in good standing in the church of Christ, and acknowledged to be sound in the faith by a Judicatory of the Dutch Reformed, Associate Reformed, or Presbyterian churches, and who possess, in the judgment of the directors, the other proper qualifications as missionaries, shall be indiscriminately employed by the society. More than this the minority consented not to ask; less, it was thought, the majority could not give. The only question then was, whether, irrespective of their differences of sentiment, the society would, upon principles that were impartial and honorable, combine their efforts in the missionary cause.

"It was the joy of the minority to be permitted to live in an age of the world which calls upon them to unite with men, differing, indeed, from them in important articles of faith, but according with them in the great designs of glory to God and good-will to men. The heathen were perishing in their blood. It was no time to foster the spirit of alienation and bigotry. The fields were whitening to the harvest. From every desert and every mountain the cry was reverberating, "Thrust ye in the sickle!" A sphere of action was opening upon the rising generation, such as the world never saw. The minority hoped that the majority would tread back their ground with the magnanimity of Christian heroism; or, if they revolted at this, that they would welcome this last proposal — would rejoice to strike their hands with ours in this holy league; and wherever

else we might admit them, eternally banish all our differences of sentiment from this hitherto harmonious society.

"But what were their feelings when the proposition—in a manner how little resembling the Christian spirit, will never be forgotten—was repelled as *cowardly*, and promptly, though reluctantly, withdrawn. Their utmost fears were now realized, and the hope of conciliation forever extinguished. There remained the sweet conviction, that an invisible and almighty hand would yet be discovered and exalted in this unsearchable providence, and that there was One on the throne who was able to redeem the pledge, "*The wrath of man shall praise the Lord, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain.*"

"The yeas and nays being called for, the question was decided against the resolution by a majority of one hundred and eighty-two to ninety-one. Two hundred and fourteen members of the Society were absent, and a very considerable number of those present declined voting. By this ruthless blow was this fair temple cloven to its base. If solicitude, and entreaty, and tears, could have availed, it would have stood firm, and risen high. But the blow that severed it laid the deep and broad foundation for an edifice whose triumphal arch and lofty dome will be seen from afar. Abundant thanksgiving is due to the great Head of the Church, that we have been carried through the conflict, and that in the darkest season the pillar and the cloud were before us. "*Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name give glory, for thy mercy and thy truth's sake!*" It has been an event which in prospect we deplored, and which in its approaches has been resisted by every expedient which truth and charity could dictate. It has been a struggle for all that is dear in religious liberty. It has been a conflict for Gospel truth. It has been the birth-pang of the daughter of Zion for the souls of the heathen. But the agony is over. We are troubled on every side, but not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; *persecuted*, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed. Though disfranchised, we inherit; though excommunicated, we commune; though amputated from the body, we hold the Head. While the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, our purpose is to breathe his vital air, and display a banner because of the truth. This will we do if God permit. It is of little purpose that we should be thought to have gained the victory; it is sufficient to have gained a release from that spirit of intolerant bigotry to which we are willing to bid adieu forever."

"Immediately after the meeting at which the discussions above mentioned were concluded, the minority proceeded to organize the 'New York Evangelical Missionary Society of Young Men.'"



## SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

THE verification of social statistics is a subject that needs attention both by writers and readers on social themes. There is danger, on the one hand, that unwarrantable uses of statistics may be made by those who do not understand the qualifications that are needed to reduce them to their more exact significance. Then, on the other hand, statistics are sometimes discarded altogether by those who perceive some of their fallacious uses, and yet fail to discriminate between what they are made to say and what they should be really understood to teach. We shall take up three or four of the more important principles of verification of social statistics that the ordinary reader needs to understand. The illustrations of these principles will be purposely chosen from statistics of popular interest at the present time. They are such as in some instances confirm the common methods, and in some point to the need of a revision of them. We shall not enter upon those forms of statistical science which take the student into the realm of the higher mathematics, but simply apply the more obvious principles which the reader will apprehend on their merest statement and in connection with concrete illustrations from practical problems. And let it be said, further, that there are certain elementary rules that do not need special notice. They are understood by every one. Among these are the need of a faithful report of all the facts, of using enough of them to form a trustworthy basis of comparison, and the importance of regarding the conditions of time and extent of territory. These are apparent to everybody.

Let us, then, take first a principle that applies to a class of statistics in which the ratio or percentage is used to express the cause of certain results. Statistics of intemperance supply us with an example here, though it has been used by us elsewhere. It is said that fifty, eighty, and even a still greater per cent. of the crimes committed in this country are due to intemperance. This result is brought about by a disregard of the principle that demands the separation of a cause, whose operations we are tracing, from others contributing to the same result. These higher percentages are obtained, by those who give them, from the pursuit of the single clue of intemperance alone. Whenever the observer finds this vice in considerable degree connected with a crime, the latter is at once put down as caused by intemperance. Now it will be readily seen that all that a result from this method can be made to prove is that intemperance enters as a cause into a given per cent. of crimes. It is only as the other causes, like licentiousness, bad industrial training or conditions, defective home life, hereditary influences, illiteracy, and irreligion, are also investigated along with intemperance, and a careful comparison made, that the force and amount of the several causes or of any one of a number of causes of crime can be properly estimated. Mr. E. Howard Vincent, the English inspector of the causes of crime, and some of the continental statisticians have acted upon this principle with results in marked variation from American figures. Mr. Vincent puts about two fifths of the crimes of England and Wales down to intemperance, and about the same to immorality, meaning undoubtedly vices of sex.

We may stop just here for a few words on another principle that needs attention in the valuation of social statistics. This is the need of a recognition of the relation of the various causes of a given result like a

crime. Some are simply proximate. Others are ultimate. Bad home life, for example, may lie back of intemperance; intemperance may lead to other vices, and these to the final act of crime. Or the order may be reversed in a certain number of the instances. These features should be examined carefully with reference to their effect on the result. A cause remote from a final effect may be the most powerful one of all.

Of quite another type is the difficulty that arises in finding the proper basis of comparison or of making the proper corrections when we are compelled to resort to a substitute for the right basis. Here embarrassment may be felt and the statistics unduly disparaged or misinterpreted in consequence. Statistics of divorce afford a good example for the illustration of the proper treatment of this difficulty. The more frequent basis of comparison in judging of the prevalence or movement of divorces is that supplied by the marriages of the same period. The ratio of divorces to the marriages of the time within which the divorces occurred is ordinarily given as fairly representing the state of such affairs. At first thought this seems very much out of the way, for the reason that the divorces of a given year have only the slightest connection with the marriages that took place in that time. The population out of which the divorces came may be taken, and sometimes it is used. But the younger half of the people and many others are unmarried. Immigration and other things affect this basis. Thirdly, the ratio of divorces in a year to all existing married couples may be employed. This would be just, provided we could easily get the data, and the result were so stated as to leave the reader to see that the annual loss by divorce would not give the total loss out of all marriages in their natural course. The lack of data for this method is of itself conclusive against its use. Some statistics of Sweden, covering fifty years, give results by both this and the first or usual method of comparison. But the variations between the two are comparatively small. A fourth method of giving divorce statistics would be to state the ratio of divorces in a given year to the whole number of marriages dissolved for all causes in the same year. Where the deaths are so reported that this could be done we might get a nearly perfect basis of comparison. For it would show the ratio the number of marriages dissolved by divorce in a given year bears to the total number terminated for all causes, just as the percentage of violent deaths to the whole number of deaths from all causes exhibits the degree of danger to life from this source. But here the data are lacking or exceedingly difficult of access. A fifth method would get at the ends of the fourth in another way. From considerable periods in France, Massachusetts, and elsewhere it has been found that the average length of the married life of those divorced in any year varies but little, being nearly eleven years. Were the marriages free from other fluctuations than the increase of population, the divorces of the present year might be assumed to come out of the marriages of eleven years ago, and the ratio thus made up. Considerations of ease, however, have led to the adoption of the first of these five methods, and a scientific examination of the subject has favored its retention by all statistical authorities, though we have never seen the grounds for it thoroughly discussed. Other things being the same, it is as exact as the fourth. In all states where the population is nearly the same or changes slowly, the number of marriages in a given year must be nearly equal to those dissolved by death or the courts in the same year. Here the first and the fourth methods deal with equivalents. But things

are not always equal. Divorces fluctuate, and so do marriages, for causes outside their own natural movements.

This brings us to the next principle of verification. Corrections must be made for aberrations in both terms of the ratio. The briefest allusion will be sufficient at this point. The statutes touching divorce — still to draw from this department of social statistics — may be changed, or the procedure of the courts; or, again, the libels of two years may be largely crowded for trial into a single year. Marriages, too, are affected by war, and by financial prosperity, like the flow of a river by its banks or by unusual rains. But either by covering sufficiently long periods, or by applying the proper corrections, these aberrations can be calculated. It is enough to add here the statement that some of these balance each other, and that on the whole the disturbing element of checked marriages is not usually large. It should, however, be noted that in all states where the population increases rapidly allowance should be made in the ratio of divorces to the marriages of the same year; since the latter are from the present and the divorces from earlier marriages, which were fewer. In such states the ratio given is evidently below the true figure.

The other verification to which attention is here called may be said to be for qualitative tests, the last being rather quantitative. And for our illustration we will take the statistics just now freely used in discussing some religious movements for increasing evangelistic efforts in behalf of the great cities. It is said that "in 1880 there was in the United States one evangelical church organization to every 516 of the population. In Boston there is one church to every 1,600 of the population; in Chicago, one to 2,081; in New York, one to 2,468; in St. Louis, one to 2,801;" and that the city "is from one third to one fifth as well supplied with churches as the nation at large." In one important document a much stronger statement is made and used as one of the grounds for the large expenditure of moneys for organizing new churches in cities. We have nothing to do here with this project. For aught that is said here it should succeed, and that for abundant reasons. But let us examine the statistical point made. In the country, let us say in round numbers, there is one church to every 500 inhabitants; and in the city, one to every 2,500. Apply the corrections to the terms of the ratios for the peculiar qualities covered by the words "city" and "country." The populations in the two instances are unlike. One is scattered; the other compact. Then, after distance is overcome, we must look into the question of religious accessibility, the dangers, disseminating forces, the powers of the home, and other matters affecting this side of the two ratios as it bears on the other term — *one church*. But the quality and quantity of the forces hidden under this other side of the ratio in the phrase "*one church*" must be ascertained. Are the forces in the pulpit and pastoral service likely to be equally numerous, equally able, and equally well directed and supported in city and country? The one may command the time of only a single salaried officer of moderate ability, while the other may have two or a half dozen workers of high qualifications, with the advantage of specialized work. In one case five times as many persons can be brought within the reach of the single voice as in the other. The losses and the gains from this mergence of the individual in large audiences, or from his relative prominence in the smallest, need to be taken into the account. Then the membership of the churches of the city generally averages from three

to four times that in the country. By what figures shall we multiply the membership of each to show their respective efficiency? In short, if a statistical exhibit on this subject is to be made at all in a single ratio, this ratio should be the result of a compound ratio of many terms, each of whose values must be critically examined. Such qualitative analysis and expression will not only measure more wisely the need under consideration, but will direct the mind in a trustworthy way to the latent forces in the present organizations in the two fields of city and country. But without this fuller process, these captivating ratios have neither practical nor scientific value. More than this is true. They become mischievous. We strongly sympathize with the growing demand for moral and social statistics, and believe in their high value. But with the greater supply of statistics, which is still wretchedly deficient, and the growing interest in them, there is not a corresponding gain in the popular ability to handle them. The clergy and writers for newspapers especially need to learn the principles underlying their use on social problems. We have taken illustrations from popular themes and pursued them, without resort to technical terms in most cases, far enough to point out a few principles, but with no purpose of any comprehensive survey of statistical science in its sociological uses, or even of the topics we have taken up. Every one of these illustrations has been taken from actual mistakes in respectable public statements. The lack of a knowledge of these elementary principles of verification has brought many a public teacher into difficulty or silent ridicule from trained observers.

A little reflection will show the very great need there is of a broader and fuller supply of the material in this important field. Our governments are quite awake to the need of economic statistics, but are generally slow to make appropriations for the prosecution of statistical inquiry in the higher social departments. For this reason experts have been unable, when willing, to pursue more than one or two of the several lines of inquiry that really open their subjects. The reform of criminals is a case in point. Those interested in the reformation of prisoners and the prevention of crime work largely in the dark for the want of this fuller material and the careful analysis and discrimination of the complex causes that probably lie back of most crimes. Ecclesiastical statistics have been gathered with increasing care and interest. They are generally fairly accurate in their representation of the facts they attempt to give. But their real meagreness has not been fully seen. There has been, as a rule, no adequate grasp of the laws governing their verification and interpretation. A part has been made to do service for a whole, and a whole has rarely been separated into its constituent parts and then subjected to rigid examination. But something more than this lies back of the defective statistical methods. There is a great lack of the power of social analysis. We are content to count heads, and this encourages us to seek individuals as such chiefly. Reformers, writers, pastors have not acquired the habit of analyzing social phenomena into their component parts and tracing their complex causes, and thus getting clearly defined ideas of the subjects they desire to test statistically. And this, in its turn, is partly owing to the want of a fairly good scientific knowledge of the social structure itself, and its power over the individual man who is a member of it.

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## BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

THE TEXT OF EZEKIEL.<sup>1</sup>

THE constitution of a critical Hebrew text of the Old Testament is the most pressing need to-day in the whole field of Biblical study, and it is encouraging to note the signs that the work, at least of the younger generation of Old Testament scholars, is more and more being turned in that direction. The recent revision of the English version and the discussion to which it has given rise have of late attracted attention to the unsatisfactory state of the Old Testament text beyond the small circle of those who are by profession immediately concerned with it. For the vital question about the revision, after all, is whether the revisers did all that was rightly to be expected of them in giving us an improved translation of an unimproved text. To that question the answer must, in the light of the principles laid down for the guidance of the Revision Commission, and the practice of their New Testament fellow-workers, be an unequivocal negative. That they did not set to work to construct a critical text of the Old Testament no one can blame them, but that in cases where the Hebrew text is unintelligible or grammatically intolerable they rejected the means which were in their hands for its emendation, and preferred to improvise grammar and invent unheard-of meanings for words that they might make believe to translate the untranslatable, — take for a single but most instructive example Hannah's "double portion," — *this* is a procedure which nobody but the revisers themselves will be likely to approve.

A critical text of the Old Testament such as the state of learning requires cannot be a mere revision of the *textus receptus*, bringing it into more exact accord with the best Massoretic tradition. The labors of Baer, for instance, show indeed how much is still to be done before we shall really have in our hands the Massoretic text itself; but they show also how little is to be hoped from that source in cases of real difficulty. It must be based upon the entire critical material: on the one hand for the Hebrew text, not only collations of manuscripts, but the Massora, the quotations in pre-Massoretic Jewish literature, — Talmud, Mechilta, Sifre, etc., — the works of Jewish grammarians and text-critics; on the other, the whole series of versions made immediately from the Hebrew. The emendations which scholars have from time to time suggested, whether upon external evidence or by conjecture, must be gathered and sifted; the critical apparatus must register concisely and exactly the whole volume of the evidence for and against the reading adopted.

In this work we are scarcely beyond the beginning. Great collections of materials such as are contained in the Polyglots, the extensive manuscript collations of Kennicott and De Rossi for the Hebrew text, or of Holmes and Parsons for the Septuagint, the work of Frensdorff and Ginsburg upon the Massora, are indeed at hand, but much of the earlier work needs to be done over, or at least carefully verified. There does not exist a critical edition of any one of the versions; with the Septuagint, the most important of them all, the case is worst of all. Lagarde has in-

<sup>1</sup> *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, herausgegeben von Lic. Dr. Carl Heinrich Cornill, a. o. Professor d. Theol. a. d. Universität Marburg. Leipzig: Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung. 1886.



deed laid down the lines on which the work of Septuagint criticism must build, he has given brilliant examples of the application of scientific method to this most perplexing task, but it has, to the incalculable loss of Biblical learning, not been permitted him to do more. A critical edition of Jerome's Latin version, of the Targum, or the Syriac is not yet, so far as I know, even projected. To a great degree the apparatus has therefore still to be created. Moreover, these studies have always had to contend with a peculiarly stubborn prejudice. The necessity, the right, of any criticism of the Hebrew text, or even of the Jewish interpretation of it which is embodied in the vowel points and accents, has been persistently denied, and long after New Testament text-criticism had conquered its right against the *textus receptus*, the Jewish *textus receptus* reigned with almost undisputed supremacy. The influence of this prejudice in favor of the Massoretic tradition was very strong even over the scholars of a freer temper, who in the earlier part of this century did so much for every other branch of Old Testament learning, — it suffices to name Gesenius and De Wette, — and this with a partial use of the material and the lack of fixed principles of criticism made their procedure when they did lay hands upon the text uncertain and often purely arbitrary. This mixture of unreasonable deference and unscientific rashness in its turn confirmed the prejudice of others against every attempt to emend the text. It is no longer possible to believe that it is free from errors, but its errors are better, it is said, than the improvements of the critics. Thus Old Testament criticism has lingered far behind that of the New Testament, and has indeed only just begun to profit by that application of a strictly scientific method through which so much has been achieved in that field. Indeed, the very success of New Testament criticism has not been altogether favorable to the Old Testament. The New Testament scholar is too apt to apply to Old Testament criticism the test of principles and methods which belong to his own special field, but are quite inapplicable in ours. Accustomed to employ a copious and rich manuscript material and to regard the versions as of secondary value as witnesses, he is very apt to imagine that no safe results can be reached where the manuscripts yield next to nothing, and our whole reliance must be upon the versions. Of this the recent discussions of the English revision afford many illustrations. The problems of Old Testament criticism are very different from those which confront us in the New Testament, and, let us say at once, in some ways considerably more difficult. Its materials are of another sort and must be used in another way. We can never hope to attain in some books of the Old Testament as high a degree of certainty for our conclusions as we may reach in most parts of the New Testament, but it is not true that the task is as needless or as hopeless as many would have us believe.

The volume which lies before us will do much toward making the latter point clear. The Hebrew text of the book of Ezekiel, as is well known, has come down to us in a much more unsatisfactory state than most of the rest of the Old Testament, so that in undertaking to reconstruct the text of this book Dr. Cornill has attacked the problem where it was at once conspicuously necessary and peculiarly difficult.

How has he gone about it? In his own words, he has sought to apply to it the well-tried methods of classical philology. The first thing is to know what materials are available for the work, to examine, classify, and value them. The results of this investigation are laid before us in



Prolegomena, filling 175 pages. The fact that this volume is virtually a first essay in its kind made it necessary to enter in detail into many preliminary questions, especially concerning the versions, and these the author has discussed with a thoroughness which cannot be too highly praised. Beyond their immediate bearing on the criticism of the text of Ezekiel these pages contain many contributions of real worth to the history of the text and versions, and will be appreciated by those who know how loose and untrustworthy much of the matter is which is handed down from one Hand-Book of Biblical Introduction and Bible Dictionary to another.

In regard to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament Cornill rightly holds that all extant manuscripts are more or less accurate copies of a single prototype; a fact which others had surmised, Lagarde was the first to prove.<sup>1</sup>

Of this Cornill brings new evidence in the shape of a minute collation of the St. Petersburg codex of the Prophets, of A. D. 916. The testimony of this codex is of altogether unusual importance on this point, not only because it is the oldest certainly dated copy now known, but still more because of its peculiar, so-called Babylonian system of punctuation it unquestionably represents a tradition up to a certain point independent of the Tiberian *textus receptus*. How far back this evidence carries us is an interesting point, which Cornill has not discussed.

Cornill's collation shows that this manuscript differs from the *textus receptus* as represented by Hahn's edition, in the whole forty-eight chapters of Ezekiel, in only sixteen places which even in the slightest degree affect the sense. This result, compared, for example, with the variations of the best New Testament or Septuagint manuscripts, shows a constancy of tradition which may well be called unexampled. How far back does this unanimity of tradition go? Or, in other words, what is the proximate date of the common archetype from which all our manuscripts are derived? To this question Cornill, again with Lagarde, answers: the second century after Christ, — more definitely, the time of Adrian. And whatever historical value we may ascribe to the interesting story of the rescue of an archetypal copy from the siege of Bether and its preservation and multiplication in the East, which Lagarde has unearthed in an Arabic Midrash,<sup>2</sup> the relation of the versions, especially of the Targum, the fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and of Jerome's Latin to the Hebrew standard text point to a fixation of the text about that time. The character of the standard text itself precludes the supposition that it was the result of any sort of critical procedure, either in the form of recension, — the collation of copies for particular readings, — or even of comparison and selection among manuscripts. That such a faulty manuscript as that of our Ezekiel became the basis of the received text can hardly be ascribed to anything but accident or dire necessity.

It is these facts which give to the versions their extraordinary importance in Old Testament text-criticism; for they represent to us as many

<sup>1</sup> In the first pages of his *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Uebersetzung der Proverbien*, 1863, *Mittheilungen*, 1884, p. 19 ff.; pages of which Cornill says: Lagarde hätte sie in Anlehnung an den Titel einer bekannten Schrift von Immanuel Kant dreist überschreiben dürfen: "Prolegomena zu einer jeden künftigen alttestamentlichen Textkritik, die als wissenschaftlich wird auftreten können" (p. 6 f.).

<sup>2</sup> *Materialien*, 231.

Hebrew manuscripts, conceivably at least belonging to different families from the standard text, and in one case some centuries older than the latter.

But the versions have also had their history, and by accidental corruption and well meant correction have in some cases widely departed from their original form. As it is this alone which has any worth for us, the Old Testament text-critic is compelled to address himself first to the recovery of the true text of the ancient versions. He must then further minutely investigate the character of these translations: whether literal or free, exact or careless, whether with competent knowledge of both languages, et cetera; he must learn to know the mind of the translator in those idiosyncrasies which affect the understanding or reproduction of his matter. Only so can the versions be used with safety for any critical purpose. First among them, both in time and in importance, is the Septuagint. First, also, in difficulty, for the recovery of the real Septuagint is beyond doubt the most complex and baffling problem to which critics ever had to set themselves. Here it is Lagarde, as I have already said, who has with comprehensive grasp of the facts and masterly insight into their relations laid down the principles upon which the scientific solution of the problem must be worked out.

Dr. Cornill fully accepts these principles, and has applied them with a great deal of skill to the criticism of the Greek Ezekiel. After a brief description of the Septuagint manuscripts which contain Ezekiel — four uncials, with a fragment of a fifth,<sup>1</sup> and twenty-five cursives, — the author takes up the translations of the Septuagint, the Old Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Hexaplar Syriac, Arabic, and old Slavic versions. For the Old Latin we have the fragments of the Weingarten codex and of the Würzburg palimpsest, both discovered and published by E. Ranke (to whom, with Dietrich, this volume is dedicated); in all, parts of twenty-three chapters. The examination of these fragments shows that they represent a Greek text of the Alexandrian rather than the Vatican type, and a collation of those passages which are fortunately preserved in both the Weingarten and Würzburg manuscripts, while it discloses numerous differences, shows also a strongly marked resemblance, not only in general character, but in particulars, such as is best explained by supposing that we have before us comparatively widely diverging forms of the same version, rather than originally different translations. For the difficult question of the old Latin version or versions in general, whether from the beginning one or many, according to the well-known words of Augustine, this result is of relatively little moment. The basis of induction is too narrow.<sup>2</sup> As to the region in which the *Vetus Latina* originated Cornill decides, against the great weight of Ranke's authority, but not without reasons of considerable force, for North Africa.

The Coptic version Cornill has used only through the medium of Tatam's Latin translation, and he expresses himself with corresponding reserve. But even thus his keen eye has detected the fact that the text

<sup>1</sup> To which should be added, as others have already pointed out, the fragments of the *Cryptoferratensis*, edited by Cozza in 1867, which Cornill has overlooked.

<sup>2</sup> Ziegler's recent examination of the fragments of the old Latin of the Pentateuch, as well as the patristic citations, makes pretty strongly against the hypothesis of original unity. V. *Bruchstücke einer vorhieronymianischen Uebersetzung des Pentateuchs*, veröffentl. v. Leo Ziegler. München, 1883.

which Tattam published is not altogether homogeneous, but shows, especially in chapters 40-48, traces of correction and improvement after the Hebrew text.

To the examination of the Ethiopic version, on the other hand, Cornill brings special qualifications of a high order. He has used two manuscripts, one a Berlin codex representing an older, the other (from the Frankfort city library) a younger, form of the text, and sought to determine their relation to each other and to the Septuagint. This investigation derives especial interest from its bearing upon Lagarde's suggestion<sup>1</sup> that the Ethiopic version of the Old Testament may not unlikely be much more modern than has been commonly supposed, and proved to be derived not directly from the Greek, but from an Arabic or Egyptian version. This view receives no confirmation from Cornill's examination, the results of which he cautiously puts in this way: that the Ethiopic translation as we have it cannot have been made either from the Coptic of Tattam, or from the Arabic of the Polyglots. On the other hand Cornill notes a number of renderings in the Ethiopic which seem to be explicable only as direct translation from the Greek, — such, for example, as the painstaking and awkward reproduction of Greek compound words and the like. The Greek text which it represents Cornill counts with the best.

The more recent text proved to be a patchwork affair in which the old version has been revised more or less extensively, though not systematically, after the Hebrew. It would be of great interest to know when this was done; as indeed the whole question of the revision of the secondary versions, to bring them into closer agreement with the Hebrew verity, is in more than one aspect an important one. The author's observations on the Arabic of the Polyglots are also of consequence, especially for the thoroughness with which he determines anew the relation of the translation to the Septuagint. Made probably in Egypt, it represents a text in general of the Alexandrian type, but free from a considerable part of the Hexaplar interpolations which are so numerous in A.

Having mustered the material, the next step must be to attempt to group the manuscripts and versions in genealogical relations. In a famous passage (Opp. ed. Vallarsi II. 522) Jerome tells us that in his day three recensions of the Greek Bible divided the world among them. "Alexandria et Aegyptus in LXX suis Hesychium laudant auctorem. Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has provinciae Palaestinos codices legunt quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt." The preliminary aim of criticism is to recognize and restore these recensions. And the clew is given us by the citations in the Fathers. The character of these quotations is such as to render them of comparatively little value for particular readings. Their real use is as witnesses to the *type* of text which was current in their time and region. For the Syrian type of the text the case was, after Field and Lagarde, in the main already clear. In Ezekiel this family is represented by the Venetian uncial 23 of Parsons's apparatus (V of Cornill's notation), and the cursives 48, 51, 231, 22, 36 (Parsons), to which Cornill adds the fragment (4.<sup>10</sup>-5.<sup>4</sup>) in Tischendorf, *Monumenta Sacra ined.*, II. 313-314.

But with the Egyptian recension (Hesychius) it is different. Indeed

<sup>1</sup> *Materialien*, u. s. w., I. iii., *Ankündigung*, u. s. w., p. 28.

we as yet hardly have in our hands the criteria by which manuscripts of this family, if any unmixed representatives of it exist, might be certainly recognized. Much remains to be done both with the Coptic versions and with the fathers, first of all with Cyril of Alexandria, whose Old Testament quotations must themselves be critically authenticated before we can use them with much confidence for the rediscovery of the Alexandrian church Bible of his day. Furthermore, the question of Cyril's text can only be solved in a larger connection, and first of all upon the basis of those books upon which we have formal commentaries from his hand. The hundred or so of incidental quotations from Ezekiel which are scattered through his works, in large part plainly loose citations from memory, show, as was to be expected, a general agreement with what in a wider sense may be called the Egyptian type of text. In the possession of the common physiognomy of this type without the characteristic individuality of the Codex Alexandrinus, Cyril's quotations resemble a group of cursive manuscripts (Parsons 87, 238, 49, 90, 91, 68) in which Cornill is disposed to find Hesychius. It appears, however, from his examination of Origen that the text of that Father agrees even more closely with the group in question than Cyril's, — a striking phenomenon, which, however, is unfortunately susceptible of more than one explanation. For the possibility that the Scripture text in the fragments of Origen has been conformed to the type which was current at a later time is suggested by many similar instances in the Fathers, and by the fact which Cornill has brought out that in the fourteen homilies of Origen on Ezekiel, which we have only in Jerome's translation, the Scripture text has a different stamp and approaches more nearly to that of Lucian.

The versions, again, of which, beside the Coptic, the Ethiopic, Arabic, and perhaps the Old Latin, that is, Ranke's fragments, are derived from Egyptian sources, cannot be said to bring us much nearer to the solution of the Hesychius question. It may be said of them in general that they stand nearer to Codex A than the cursive group which Cornill has examined, and the later among them, the nearer. These are puzzling facts, and in the absence of any more definite account of Hesychius's services in regard to the text of the Septuagint, at least raise the question whether we have sufficient ground for assuming that his work was as thorough-going and characteristic as that of Origen-Eusebius, or of Lucian. The cursives to which Cornill has called attention certainly deserve, however, to be tested in other books, say in the Minor Prophets, where we are at least relatively better provided with the means of doing so. It is interesting that in Ezekiel — not throughout — the Aldine edition of the Septuagint represents the Egyptian as the Complutensian does the Syrian text.

The third, so to speak, official text of the Septuagint is the Palestinian. Eusebius and Pamphilus edited separately the Septuagint column of Origen's great Hexapla, with all the critical annotations. This text is preserved to us more or less accurately in the Hexaplar Syriac version, reproduced in photolithography by Ceriani, and in the so-called Hexaplar Greek manuscripts, namely, for Ezekiel the uncial Marchalianus of the eighth century — according to Tischendorf of the sixth or seventh — and the cursive Chisianus of the ninth century. One of the most interesting parts of the Prolegomena is that in which the relations of the great Vatican codex to this recension is discussed. Lagarde had already in his "Anmerkungen zur griech. Uebersetzung d. Proverbien" (page 3) suggested as the only

explanation or the peculiar character of the Old Testament text of B, that the writer had endeavored to extract the original LXX text from an annotated manuscript, by leaving out what was there marked as of foreign origin, and that in so doing he had sometimes blundered, and copied what he ought to have omitted and omitted what he ought to have copied. Cornill has convinced himself that, in fact, B was made in this way from Origen's Hexapla, and at Caesarea,—an attempt in the direction of Jerome's advice: "*Vis amator esse verus LXX interpretum? non legas ea quae sub asteriscis sunt, imo rade de voluminibus ut veterum te fautorem probes.*" His collations show at least that in Ezekiel B belongs to the same recension with the Hexaplar Syriac, the Marchalianus and Chisianus.

His view of the Cæsarean origin of B agrees with the results which Dr. J. Rendel Harris reached on the ground of stichometric observations,<sup>1</sup> and deserves further examination.

The author's careful investigation of the character of the LXX translation in this book may be commended as profitable reading for those who are disposed to discredit the use of this version for text-critical purposes by sweeping accusations of looseness and inaccuracy. Even in such matters as the order of the Hebrew words, the reproduction of un-Greek idioms, particles, pronouns, and the like, the translators habitually proceeded with a fidelity to the very letter of their original which makes the Alexandrian version, almost to the smallest particulars, a fully trustworthy witness to the Hebrew text which lay before them. And that mechanicalness which makes their Greek so hard to read as Greek makes the process of retroversion into Hebrew easy and certain.

Another very important section of these Prolegomena is given to the Targum. The three forms in which the Targum text of the Prophets is in our hands, that of the Rabbinical Bibles (first Venice, 1517 †; then in Buxtorf's Bible: Basel, 1620, with a vowelings systematically conformed to the analogy of the Aramaic chapters in Ezra and Daniel, in which form it is reprinted in the London Polyglot); that of the Antwerp Polyglot, and Lagarde's edition of the Reuchlin manuscript (1872), are minutely compared. The significant variations prove to be remarkably few. The Antwerp text and the Reuchlinianus agree more closely with each other than with Bomberg-Buxtorf, and as a whole present a decidedly better text. The study of the character of the Targum and its relation to the original is also instructive. In the first place, the Targum is in accordance with its practical purpose, popular instruction and edification, avowedly interpretation. To reproduce the obscurity of the Hebrew in equally obscure Aramaic was not the translators' notion of faithfulness. They sought to give at least the clew to an understanding of the sacred text; and thus they often reduce tropic to simple language, interpret allusions, and the like. On the other hand, they tried to guard against misunderstanding by avoiding expressions which in their literal sense were misleading or offensive. But this freedom did not hinder their being literal, too. It is easy to see even where they have made an interpretative paraphrase rather than a translation in our sense of the word, the pains they have taken that no word or syllable, no jot or tittle, of the original may be lost. "The greatest liberty, and the most unbounded arbitrariness as regards the spirit, the most servile fidelity to the letter,—this is the signature of the Targum" (page

<sup>1</sup> Johns Hopkins University Circulars, vol. iii., no. 29, 1884.



125). This servitude to the letter in the midst of all the boldness of their interpretation is of great value in the use of the Targum for text-critical purposes. A scholar who is thoroughly familiar with the method and spirit of the Targum may often even in its freest renderings detect the underlying Hebrew text with scarcely less certainty than from a more literal version.

The result of Cornill's investigations accords with other observations: that in general the Targum follows the standard consonant text. There remain, however, a number of renderings which can only be explained from different readings in the original, and these Cornill has discussed severally in a highly instructive manner. It is to be hoped that he may carry out his purpose of examining the Targum of the other Prophetic books in the same way.

Cornill thinks that the Targum exhibits to us the type of Hebrew text which prevailed in Palestine at the beginning of our era, about which time, in his opinion, the Targums originated, and he finds in them the evidence that the Hebrew text had not at that time acquired the stereotyped fixity it has had since the second or third century.

I cannot, for my part, ascribe to the Targums, as we know them, anything like so high an antiquity. But granted, for the moment, that they are really so old, the question would be how the written Targum, which is itself, as is generally agreed, the result of some sort of official recension, — which for various reasons we can hardly put earlier than the second century, — as the recognized interpretation of the synagogue escaped conformation to the standard text of the synagogue.

Dr. Cornill's examination of the Peshito Syriac is equally thorough. He has been at the pains of instituting a minute collation of the Ambrosian manuscript, as published in photolithographic *fac-simile* by Ceriani, with the text edited by Gabriel Sionita for the Paris Polyglot, and reproduced in the London Polyglot. The result is somewhat disappointing, for it shows very clearly that this oldest known manuscript of the Peshito, from the publication of which so much was expected, is a comparatively poor one; that its text is decidedly inferior to that of the printed editions; and — in a critical point of view, the fatal fault — that it shows manifest signs of extensive retouching after the Massoretic Hebrew text. Another very useful service Cornill has rendered by his careful examination of Lee's edition for the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1823. This text is naturally based upon that of the Polyglots, and in spite of the *ad fidem codicum* on the title-page follows Gabriel Sionita pretty closely. The departures from it consist chiefly in the filling up of its *lacunae* from the three English manuscripts, a collation of which is found in the sixth volume of Walton's Polyglot. The few other variations are also all to be found in the same apparatus. We can therefore use Lee's edition for text-critical purposes with comparative confidence. Another edition of the Peshito, primarily for practical purposes, is that published by the American missionaries at Urmia in 1862 in quarto (ancient and modern Syriac in parallel columns). This edition Dr. Cornill has not included in his examination, as indeed the edition is comparatively rarely found in Western libraries. It may perhaps not be without interest if I add here a word or two concerning the character of the text which it presents. This differs in many instances from that of the European editions, and follows in at least a part of these variations the authority of Nestorian manuscripts. Of the age and character of the latter,



or of their own critical procedure, I do not know that the editors have published any account. From the text itself I judge that their copies which they most frequently followed belonged, like the Ambrosianus, to the class of revised Peshito manuscripts. It seems also that the editors were frequently guided in deciding between variants by the criterion of agreement with the Massoretic text, — a course which, however natural in view of the practical purpose of the edition, greatly impairs its critical value. In no less than twenty-seven passages in Ezekiel O (to use this symbol for the Urmia edition) has readings which are found only in the Ambrosian manuscript; in twenty-four more it has the support of Archbishop Ussher's copy alone — the youngest and worst of the three manuscripts in the London apparatus; — in twenty-three more it goes with AU alone, in nine of which cases it has the company of Lee. In 6<sup>14</sup>, 8<sup>5</sup>, 13<sup>2</sup>, 14<sup>1</sup>, 16<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>17</sup>, 27<sup>2</sup>, 48<sup>17</sup>, and many other verses the influence of the Hebrew is plainly visible. The places in which O exhibits readings found in no manuscript hitherto collated are also tolerably numerous, but a mere list of them could serve no purpose here.

On the whole the text of the Urmia Bible is distinctly inferior to that of Lee and the Polyglots. The mere fact that it is based in part at least on manuscript authority, however, gives it a certain importance.

The study which Cornill has made of the character of the Peshito translation puts in even a stronger light than the investigations of earlier scholars the comparative unreliability of the Syriac as a text-critical witness. It is, to begin with, a free translation, aiming apparently only to give in general the sense of the original. Hence not only in the order of the words, but in the renderings, and even in the matter of omissions in the interest of brevity, and of additions for emphasis or explanation, there is wide liberty. When it is added to this that in many places it is plain that the Syriac translators have called the Septuagint to their aid, or that subsequent copyists and editors have in a more or less systematic way revised the Syriac Bible after the Greek, the case is made still worse. Striking resemblances to the Targum are also found; not perhaps to be ascribed to direct dependence upon the written Targum, which is at least in the case of most books of the Old Testament improbable, but showing the prevalence of the Targumistic exegesis. Nevertheless, not a few good readings are preserved in the Syriac alone, and for the exegetical tradition it is of the highest value.

Passing on to the Latin version of Jerome, Cornill accepts the judgment of Lagarde, — who had been preceded in this by a Roman Catholic scholar, perhaps Ph. Jaffé,<sup>1</sup> — that the famous Codex Amiatinus in Florence, instead of being as Tischendorf thought written about 540, is really some three centuries and a half younger.<sup>2</sup> This being the case, the first rank among manuscripts of Jerome's translation belongs to the Toledo codex, probably of the eighth century, a careful collation of which, made at the instance of Pope Sixtus V. for his proposed edition of the Vulgate, was published by Bianchini and reprinted by Migne, in an appendix to the Divina Bibliotheca of Jerome.<sup>3</sup> In regard to the general character of this version, we have in Nowack's "Die Bedeutung des Hieronymus

<sup>1</sup> Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> "In künstlicher Antiqua etwa unter Karl dem Kahlen in Reichenau geschrieben und (vermuthlich als Geschenk) über die Alpen gewandert." *Mittheilungen*, p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> *Patrol. Latina*, vol. 29, p. 879-1096.

für die alttestamentliche Textkritik," 1875, an excellent monograph, to which Cornill deems it sufficient to refer.

We turn now from the Prolegomena to the body of the work. We have here on opposite pages the reconstructed Hebrew text, unpointed, and a German translation, which takes the place of the vowel-pointing. This seems to me an excellent arrangement. So, too, I think most scholars will approve the adoption of a consistent orthography based on natural quantity instead of the purely accidental alternation of *plene* and *defective* in the Massoretic text. Beneath the text and translation we have the critical apparatus, at once full and compact, though perhaps, as is apt to be the case with such things, not quite as easy of reference as it might have been made at some expense of space. This apparatus, with its conspectus of various readings, and the witnesses to them, has a value of its own, independent of the text, a value which cannot easily be overestimated. Every one who has had occasion to lecture or comment on the Old Testament can enter with feeling into what Lagarde has said somewhere: "Nobody knows what pains it costs a conscientious man to have to explain a text which has never been diplomatically fixed." In every case where the Massoretic text is corrupt or suspected, to overhaul the whole library in which the critical material is stored away is impossible. Such work can only be done systematically. For Ezekiel it is done now. And it is no great credit to Biblical learning that — if we should except Merx's Joel — it has been done before for no single book of the Old Testament. But these notes at the foot of the page contain more than a digest of the critical material. Often the origin of a curious variant is discovered; the grounds of a critical judgment summarily given; or a fruitful hint for the understanding of the text dropped, so that in connection with the translation we really have not inconsiderable contributions to the interpretation of the book.

A critical reconstruction of the Hebrew text may be made in two ways. We may use the Massoretic text as a basis and depart from it only where the internal and external evidence against it is decidedly predominating, laying the burden of proof always on the proposed change, as was so long done with the New Testament *receptus*; or, allowing to the *receptus* no adventitious advantage of possession whatever, we may construct our text anew from the foundation. The latter is the method which Dr. Cornill has adopted, and in our opinion it is the only one here admissible. If we had any reason to suppose that the Hebrew standard text was the result of an editorial process of a character in any sense critical, the case would be different. As it is we shall come nearest the truth by letting it weigh for just what it is intrinsically worth, without the indefinite increment of prescriptive authority.

In the formation of his text, Cornill has shown not only a mastery of the principles of the critical art, but in a rare degree that critical tact, partly nature, partly training, for the want of which many good scholars have been in critical matters little better than castaways. This tact is shown first of all in a negative way. It will not be reckoned the least of the services which he has rendered in this edition that Cornill has put his finger on so many unsound spots in the text, over which commentators have for the most part slipped without comment. Not all things are grammatically or logically possible, even in an exilic Prophet. The estimate of the weight of conflicting evidence is sober, and no doubt generally correct. The emendations by conjecture, both those in which Cornill was

preceded by others — most frequently by Hitzig — and those which are new, have often as high a degree of probability as is to be expected. Some of them are all but certain. The result is — and how much that means all scholars will know — a text of Ezekiel which can be read and understood continuously by plain people who have themselves neither the prophetic gift nor the second sight which often serves commentators in its stead. And it may fairly be said that an emendation which makes sense must at least in that point stand nearer to the original than a tradition which is nonsense, however strongly attested.

But it is required also that the text shall be not arbitrarily rewritten for the prophet, but critically restored. This condition, also, Cornill's text in the main fulfills. And if in one or two points it seems to me that a different procedure would have been preferable, it is with no diminution of my appreciation of the admirable work of the author. First of all, then, to come to these points of dissent, in those places where the Massoretic text is plainly corrupt, where the other lines of tradition give us nothing better, where neither the context nor the material affords a firm hold for conjecture, — in those places, in other words, which may fairly be called desperate, — where the author's proposed reading has no *critical* probability, and the utmost that can be said is that the prophet might possibly have written something of the sort, it would certainly be better to put in the text the asterisks which are our confession that we are wholly at a loss, and to reserve any guess we may have to offer for the notes. It is eminently desirable to have a continuous text, but it is still more desirable to keep the boundary distinct between what is critical even as conjecture and that which is mere guess-work. Cornill is far enough from the vain imagination that his solution of these most difficult problems is everywhere the right one. In cases such as I have mentioned he fully recognizes the uncertainty, the impossibility, of attaining certainty or even plausibility; but in the text these desperate ventures stand, so to speak, on an equal footing with what is unquestionable or critically probable. Thus the exact state of the case is to a certain extent concealed. If we must, as I believe, — and no doubt Cornill would agree with me, — resign ourselves to the admission that in not a few places the original text is lost beyond all recovery, it is better that that should appear in the text itself than that these gaps should be stopped by what is merely a stop-gap after all. I think it will, perhaps, appear to others also that the desire to make a continuous text — the necessity for giving something even in the worst cases — has sometimes influenced Cornill's judgment of the probability or even the admissibility of a conjecture.<sup>1</sup>

A second point which I would remark is that in another class of difficult passages Cornill has made too free use of the principle that where the Hebrew text is corrupt and the versions are at complete variance among themselves, where there seems to be neither a textual nor an exegetical tradition, we are justified in canceling the words as no part of the original text. What the evidence establishes in such a case is only that the corruption of the Hebrew antedates the oldest versions, and that the early translators, being as much at a loss as we are, took their different ways, their own renderings in such places being in turn peculiarly exposed to corruption because more or less unintelligible. A gloss, on the other hand, is as a rule a very obvious remark, even when it is a wholly

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, 16.<sup>80</sup>.

false one. A dislocated gloss, or the conflation of gloss and text, may make a puzzling problem, but its origin is generally internally evident; compare, for example, 16.<sup>82</sup>. Not a few of the most obscure places in Ezekiel have been removed by the application of the knife.<sup>1</sup>

It seems to me debatable, further, whether the extensive transpositions which Cornill has sometimes, as, for example, in chapter iv., adopted for the sake of a better connection, are admissible on purely internal grounds. Accidental dislocations hardly account for the confusion; we are compelled, with Cornill, in the chapter named to assume that some one through whose hands the manuscript passed deranged the several parts of the chapter to bring it into better agreement with his misunderstanding of it. I doubt whether we are justified in ascribing so reflective, not to say subtle, a procedure to the old copyists or editors. We should, I think, have had far more numerous instances of it, if it had been their way.

In points of detail every scholar will of course find many places where he would estimate the weight of the evidence somewhat differently; others where the proposed emendations seem unnecessary or inadmissible; but this does not detract from the great merits of the work. I am sure that all American Old Testament scholars will unite with me in warm thanks and hearty congratulations to the author. It is to be hoped that it will be widely and diligently studied among us. There could be no better sign for the future of critical studies on this side of the water.

G. F. Moore.

## THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

### CURRENT GERMAN THOUGHT.

THE question which is at present exciting perhaps more interest than any other in theological circles is the question as to the relations between the church and the theological faculties. The question is by no means new, but it is being agitated with especial fervor just at present. An excellent pamphlet appeared anonymously some time ago (it has already reached a second edition) entitled "*Die Unzulänglichkeit des theologischen Studiums der Gegenwart*" (Leipzig: Lehmann), devoted chiefly to a frank discussion of the weaknesses and wants of pastors, professors, and students, and uttering excellent words of advice and of warning. The pamphlet proceeds evidently from a representative of the "*Mittel-Partei*," and advocates strongly the benefits of absolute freedom in teaching theology, deprecating, among other evils, as tending to weaken the power of the ministry, that spirit which leads pastors and parents to warn students against unorthodox professors, and to prevent them, in so far as possible, from listening to the lectures of such teachers. Still more lately has appeared from the church standpoint a pamphlet by Martin von Nathusius, of Barmen, entitled "*Wissenschaft und Kirche im Streit um die theologischen Facultäten*" (Heilbronn: Henninger), which combats with great force the present system, in which a theological professor may teach anything he pleases, however much his teachings may be opposed to the doctrines of the church. It is a fact that in many cases the-

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e. g., ch. 16.<sup>48</sup>, p. 269; Ib. v.<sup>45</sup>, p. 269 f. etc.

ological students who go through the university and accept the views of their teachers are by that very act made impossible to the churches, and are therefore refused ordination by them, and yet theological students must go through the universities. This seems an unjust condition of things. Of course the question depends upon the object of the theological faculties — whether it be to train men for the ministry or to advance theological science as such. If the former be the case, as the author maintains, then, as he argues, it seems self-evident that the church which employs the ministers should have some voice in the appointment of the instructors of its future servants, and some control over them. The author says: "We ask only that the minister of instruction see to it that in the evangelical faculties a theology may exist which can be heard by the students without injury to that church in whose service those faculties were founded."

The opposite school, on the other hand, — the "rein-wissenschaftliche" party, — considers the position in which theological professors would thus be placed as incompatible with true science, which necessitates absolute freedom from all dogmatic prepossessions and perfect liberty to teach whatever results their scientific investigations lead them to, whether or not the results be in accord with evangelical Christianity. Pamphlets and newspaper articles are appearing constantly upon this subject, and it is at least receiving a thorough discussion; that something must come of it seems probable. The present state of discord between the chair and the pulpit cannot continue indefinitely.

In the field of Biblical criticism perhaps the most interesting thing of the past few months is the new theory of the Apocalypse, lately broached by Vischer, a theological student, and supported by Professor Harnack in a brief "Nachwort." Vischer considers the Apocalypse a Jewish work (throwing it into line with the other Jewish apocalypses), edited and adapted by a Christian writer. He claims that this view does away with most of the difficulties which have always beset the interpretation of the Apocalypse, and explains it both historically and theologically. The theory, as might be expected, has gained the assent of certain critics of the liberal school more easily than of those with conservative tendencies, some of whom have already declared their opposition to it. But if it be false it will be as likely to receive its death-blow from the hand of a liberal as of a conservative, for new theories are treated unsparingly by both schools. No thorough discussion of the subject has as yet appeared. How much of truth the theory may contain can be ascertained only from a careful investigation of the whole subject. It is to be hoped such an investigation may be undertaken soon by some competent scholar.

Germany was perhaps never more active in the various branches of scientific theology than it is to-day, and it is noticeable how different the tendencies are from those of a generation ago, when the Tübingen school was at its height. The difference can be most plainly seen from such books as Holtzmann's "N. T. Einleitung" and Weizsäcker's "Apostolisches Zeitalter," which, while written from the advanced critical point of view, yet exhibit results much less negative than those of the old Tübingen school. That there has been a great reaction from the extreme positions of a few years ago is evident. That, on the other hand, the Tübingen criticism has caused a change in the methods of investigation is undeniable (such a book as Weiss's "N. T. Einleitung," written from a comparatively conservative point of view, reveals this change very



clearly); and that many results of that criticism have permeated all schools, especially in regard to the origin and authority of the Scriptures, must be confessed. The defenders of the extreme positions on both sides are rapidly becoming fewer. The school of Ritschl, which has the most wide-spread influence in Germany to-day, has been one of the greatest instrumentalities in breaking down the influence of the old Tübingen school, — attacking it in its fundamental principles, both philosophical and historical. It is from the religious point of view a great improvement upon the old school, as it aims to conserve the belief of the church, making revelation its basis, while the school of Baur tended to subvert it. Philosophically it meets with great opposition, as it disowns all metaphysics. The greatest opposition to the school, on the one hand, comes from such men as Pfleiderer of Berlin and Lipsius of Jena (editors of the “*Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*”), who represent the philosophy of Hegel, which ruled in the Tübingen school, and, on the other hand, from the thoroughly orthodox conservatives, who combat both its philosophy and its Biblical and historical criticism. In the latter respect the school takes an advanced critical position. Baur’s “tendency-theory” of the apostolic and post-apostolic age finds little support now even among his most pronounced followers, and the number of its supporters is rapidly decreasing. The New Testament has gained greatly by the removal of this weight, but since Hilgenfeld, thirty years ago, modified the positions of the Tübingen school, and gave up some of its most extreme and untenable conclusions, there has been little change, and there seems to be little prospect of a change, in regard to the results of the literary-historical criticism of the Scriptures. But it must be borne in mind that however negative the results in many cases may seem, the fundamental principles of the prevailing critical school are much more positive than in the old school. The ruling tendency is not to deny the supernatural *per se*, but to test it historically and critically. The position which will be reached in any individual case cannot of course be prophesied; sometimes more, sometimes less, is accepted. The conservative wing of the critical school — the “*Vermittelungs-Theologen*” or “*Mittel-Partei*” — stands upon much the same ground, but reaches more positive results.

There still exists the thoroughly conservative and orthodox school, represented chiefly by the universities of Leipzig, Erlangen, and Greifswald (from which school the commentary of Strack and Zöckler proceeds), which boasts a large number of students, and is strong among the pastors; but the influence of the school upon theology, and especially upon the younger theologians, is much less than that of the Ritschlian school and the “*Mittel-Partei*.” The school holds itself entirely aloof from so-called scientific theology and wishes to hear nothing of it. It is in turn left out of consideration not only by the advanced wing of the critical school, but even by such of the “*Mittel-Partei*” as, while scientific in method, are yet orthodox in conclusions. In many of his results, for instance, Weiss is in perfect agreement with the most orthodox, but he discards and condemns their methods throughout.

The various schools and tendencies in Germany are very complicated, and cannot be classified with any great degree of accuracy, but the works mentioned above may be taken as fairly representative.

*Arthur C. McGiffert.*

MARBURG, PRUSSIA.



## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

MEMOIR OF WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING. By OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM. 8vo, pp. 486. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886. \$2.00.

WE need not say that this Life is able and just. The author, in declaring that the nephew had the elements of genius in greater profusion than his great uncle, says no more than his abundant extracts fully justify. His faith in God also, his love to Christ, and love to mankind were fully equal to those of his uncle. If such a thing were possible, his disinterestedness and courage were even greater. He was even more completely a predestined preacher, and his eloquence seems to have been much greater in its immediate charm. We cannot well say in its immediate effect, for immediate effect, in the shape of resulting action, or permanent modifications of public opinion, it scarcely seems to have had. He was not by any means so great a man as his uncle, because, as respects the world, he was a brilliant nebula, not condensed into defined personality. The mass of his saying and doing is much less than its glowing volume, though in itself much greater than that of ordinary men. Indeed, the biographer himself aptly compares his influence to the diffused light which preceded the condensation of the sun. His life, therefore, rouses admiration, but communicates little inspiration, nor is it eminently restful. It could hardly be otherwise with one whose faith was not so much a rest in God as a quivering aspiration towards Him. Indeed, in some of his early journals, he appears to reprobate the thought of surrendering ourselves in our emptiness to God, that He may fill us with his fullness, but to maintain that we must first (how, he does not say) build up a character which is so far acceptable to God that He gives his aid towards its completion. Whatever fruits this disposition to exalt the initiative of the creature may secure, it is not likely to secure that fusion of peace with strenuousness, to a solid end, which we see in Paul. Call the apostle daylight, and the subject of this biography may be likened to a flashing, bodiless aurora. Both have their place in the scheme of God.

Channing's early opinions were those of the first generation of New England Unitarianism, holding Christ to be Lord, without allowing to Him that unity with God which can alone sustain Him in his Lordship. This view, very naturally, came to a crash. If this is all, he very warrantably told himself, Jesus must have deluded himself as to his importance to mankind. But, after the old tradition had left him in the flood, the unmatched peace, majesty, calmness, purity, searching wisdom, infinite benignity, universal applicability, of Jesus Christ, laid hold of him, and he came to recognize Him, and that for life, as Him in whom God has first personally expressed himself in mankind, and who is the second Adam, from whom the regenerate organism of the race proceeds. He always remained a Unitarian, and held all manner of opinions inconsistent with this, but this thenceforth remained central. His biographer cannot suppress a sneer that, to the end of his life, his intimacies were confined to "Christians." Mr. Frothingham's stigmatization of the name by quotation marks reminds us of the sarcastic Antiochene pleasantry in which it originated, and under which it is hardly likely to disappear. That those who acknowledge themselves as being "in Christ" should,

*ceteris paribus*, regard each other as peculiarly near does not seem very much to need comment.

Channing declares the church as the greatest means of unity that the world has known, and destined to gather all mankind into the unity of the redeemed. His particular efforts to realize it, lacking all positive basis, and requiring in others no distinct recognition of the Headship of Christ, were, of course, fantastic and evanescent. This is to be said for them, however, that, in vanishing, they exhaled only sweetness. Channing's exquisite purity was quick to detect "a diabolic influx," to which he very reasonably ascribes most of those phenomena of Spiritualism which are not to be ascribed to hallucination or imposture. At the same time he fully admits the reality of occasional clairvoyance into the spiritual world, but says that all spirits must be tested by their relation to Him who is the Head.

Channing was sublime and unwearied and unterrifiable in his belief that Christianity, in opinion and sentiment, and individual selfishness, as the basis of organized society, make a hideous schism. Channing's efforts to heal it lacked, of course, all substance, organizing power, and common sense. But his life has no more been wasted than Savonarola's, though, assuredly, he had no such power to set wet wood on fire. Indeed, his lambent flame seems hardly competent to have kindled dry. A regenerated Shelley would be a much greater man than William Henry Channing, but he would be a man of very much the same make.

Channing's wife, to his great benefit, was an Episcopalian, and his daughters, at least, were confirmed in that church. Had he been born a generation later he would, probably, have entered it himself. The wrong-headed intolerance which thrust out of Congregationalism not merely those who did not belong with it, but multitudes of churches and Christians that considerateness might easily have retained, has been overruled by the circuitous recovery to œcumenical Christianity of those who really belonged to it. The danger is great, as Phillips Brooks warns us, from arrogant hierarchism. But, at least, it has delivered a good many from incurable provincialism. And it is worthy of note that Channing's true and deep conception of what may rightly be called "the extension of the Incarnation" has become widely prevalent in the Episcopal Church, — though not by derivation from him. There it has more substance, but very much less spirituality, than he would ever have consented to give it.

Charles C. Starbuck.

MEMOIRS OF THE REV. J. LEWIS DIMAN, D. D., Late Professor of History and Political Economy in Brown University. Compiled from his Letters, Journals, and Writings, and the Recollections of his Friends. By CAROLINE HAZARD. Crown 8vo, pp. xii., 363. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1887. \$2.00.

PROFESSOR DIMAN was one of the very few persons who are equally admired and beloved. This Memoir rekindles admiration as it reminds us of his varied attainments and brilliant productions, and it also elicits tenderness as it recalls the indescribable graces of his manner, and the fascination of his manly character.

While any biography has its chief interest for personal friends and acquaintances, and is most warmly welcomed by them because it keeps precious memories alive, yet this memoir has a wider interest for several reasons.

First, it describes the life and work of a contemporary. When his sudden death occurred Professor Diman had not quite reached his fiftieth birthday, and he died no longer ago than 1881. Here, then, is the rare instance of one whose life had been of sufficient importance and whose work had left enough public impression to be made the subject of a biography, yet who died at a time when most men of mark have only embarked on their largest enterprises. We do not have to go back, as is usual in biographies, into conditions which all but the aged have forgotten, but we are among conditions of the living present. His finished work ran parallel with the unfinished work of men who are still in the storm and stress of intellectual and moral leadership.

Again, the book is of general interest because Professor Diman's personality was singularly independent of institutional and customary influences. He did not much identify himself with organizations either religious or secular, and yet did not hold aloof from them. He had directly to do, indeed, with many of them. He was, for instance, a clergyman, as he was a member, of the Congregational denomination, yet most frequently, in later life, worshiped, because he found more of worship there, in the Episcopal Church, and preached with so much acceptance in Unitarian pulpits that he was invited to more than one pastorate in the Unitarian body. His neighbors sometimes became impatient with him because he did not identify himself with a particular church, or interest himself more in local matters. But it was due to his almost absolute impartiality of judgment, to his instinctive perception both of the excellence and weakness of the crystallized forms of religious and social life. He could receive from all, but could confine himself to none. This characteristic was noticeable from the first. When he was a student of theology at Andover he was already making broad comparisons of theological systems, and without local prejudice. "Let me whisper in your ear," he writes to a friend, "that I greatly prefer the old English divines to the hair-splitting theologians of New England." He had been reading Henry More and Coleridge, and could not miss the contrast between a spiritual and a logical theology. A year or two after, in Germany, he became absorbed in the doctrine of the Person of Christ, and wrote that he loved "this deep view, and this constant struggle after unity." A few years later, when pastor of the Congregational Church at Brookline, he seemed to have no personal feeling because his orthodoxy was impugned, but wrote to his brother that he was "heartily disgusted with the incessant twaddle about soundness and unsoundness." Yet several years afterwards he declined, without hesitation, the call of a Unitarian Church, because "I cannot call myself in any distinctive sense a Unitarian, nor could I work heartily for the spread of Unitarian Christianity." The Turkish minister once talked with him at dinner, and afterwards asked Senator Anthony what Professor Diman's religion might be, for he talked as if he might belong to the Orthodox Apostolic Church. He was too broad a man to be classified easily. It was his catholicity which made him at home in so many of the great communions, and which constituted no small element of his power.

He combined in an unusual degree thoroughness with variety and quantity of work. Whatever was worth doing at all he thought was worth doing well, and he thought many things worth doing. Besides his regular work in the college, he gave historical lectures to private classes of ladies two and often three times a week, and in the Normal

School also. And this work, which went on year after year, was not the reading of manuscripts which had been prepared for other purposes, but in each case a lecture was given without the aid of notes, yet with the utmost fullness and elegance. There were also courses of lectures at Johns Hopkins University and the Lowell Institute, besides occasional orations and many sermons. He was deeply interested in the history of Rhode Island, and performed much elaborate work in bringing to light the events and personages of the past. It was a matter of course that on any occasion of public importance, such as centennial celebrations of towns, the unveiling of a statue, or the dedication of a library, Professor Diman should be the orator.

A noticeable quality was what may be called, in the best sense, spirituality. He scorned cant, but had spiritual loftiness. During his early ministry he gave occasional expression in letters to spiritual aspirations, and in later life his preaching opened a deepening vein of spiritual purity. He was esteemed by some cold and literary in his discourses, but the truth was that he never forgot the dignity of the pulpit, and always aimed at simplicity and seriousness in his public ministrations. His prayers were remarkable for the qualities of reality, devoutness, and comprehensiveness. He never lost his love for the ministry, and seems, at times, to have thought strongly of returning to it.

The memoir will not, probably, give a distinct impression of Professor Diman's personal qualities. This is not the fault of the editor, but is due to the reticence of Mr. Diman. He seldom spoke of himself, and was not much given to letter-writing. The letters which are used in the book are chiefly concerning external matters, his work, plans, doings, and scarcely touch his inner life. But even thus, there is a characteristic observation here and there which, to those who knew him, vividly recall the man as he was. Now and then his smile is seen, or his kind, unaffected sympathy, or his impressive manner.

Miss Hazard has evidently found her task a labor of love. Her arrangement of material, choice of letters, passages of description, are in a fine perspective. The touch is delicate. She has succeeded in realizing the ideal of the sonnet placed at the beginning of the book.

"The radiant soul, whose life is here revealed,  
Stands not, reserves cast off, as to confess,  
But clothed in robes of thought, the seemly dress  
Of gracious speech ; a radiance half concealed.

"Once more we hear his voice from silence break ;  
From out the hush of years again it rings,  
And comfort, hope, endurance, courage brings ;  
Aids to true life, which knows nor first nor last."

*George Harris.*

ANCIENT CITIES. From the Dawn to the Daylight. By WILLIAM BURNET WRIGHT, Pastor of the Berkeley Street Church, Boston. 16mo, pp. x., 291. Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886. \$1.25.

THE preface strikes a note that disarms criticism. Much of the same modesty and grace color the entire book. The author is delightfully unconscious of the charm he wields. Without parade of learning he spreads before his readers the opulent spoils of learning. The table of

contents breathes life into antiquity. "Ur, the City of Saints," "Nineveh, the City of Soldiers," "Alexandria, the City of the Creed Makers," "Tyre, the City of Merchants," are better than so many striking titles. They are happy generalizations. The aroma of love and faith pervades the volume. From the tender beauty of the dedication to the triumphant strength of the last chapter the Christian is fascinated and quickened. Here is literary no less than religious power. The narrative flows clearly and easily, as a stream fringed with oleanders. Incisive phrase, pictorial light and shade are noticeable throughout. The subtle analysis of character, the delicate play of imagination, the sense of historic unity borrows something from that "City of Culture," of which the author speaks with sustained dignity and noble penetration. It is a work for young and old. The poet and the historian clasp hands between its covers.

*John Phelps Taylor.*

THE CRUISE OF THE MYSTERY, AND OTHER POEMS. By CELIA THAXTER. 16mo, pp. iv., 121. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886. \$1.00.

THE SILVER BRIDGE, AND OTHER POEMS. By ELIZABETH AKERS. 16mo, pp. iv., 124. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886. \$1.25.

HOLY TIDES: SEVEN SONGS OF ADVENT, CHRISTMAS, EPIPHANY, LENT, EASTER, WHITSUN, TRINITY. By Mrs. A. D. T. WHITNEY. Square 16mo. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886. 75 cents.

POEMS OF RELIGIOUS SORROW, COMFORT, COUNSEL, AND ASPIRATION. Selected by FRANCIS JAMES CHILD. 16mo, pp. xi., 277. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886. \$1.25.

Mrs. THAXTER's poetry is too well and favorably known to need special characterization here. If in "The Cruise of the Mystery, and other Poems" the range of thought is not wide, the expression of thought is admirable. Some of the shorter poems are flawless in this respect. Mrs. Thaxter's muse dwells "in the hearing of the wave," and naturally enough the volume is pervaded with the breath of the sea. But other realms of nature give up to her of their music, and some of the deeper experiences of life are handled with delicacy and sincerity. Here and there the imagination comes in with a stronger touch than usual, as in the first stanza of Faith. Altogether, this is a charming little volume.

And so is "The Silver Bridge, and other Poems." Mrs. Akers, like Mrs. Thaxter, reveals a fine lyrical quality and no little insight into nature and human nature. If we no longer catch snatches from the song of the waves, the voices of nature and life still speak to us, and speak in a language that is true and human. The poem entitled Fire-Flies is one of the finest. One will also be struck with such pieces as My Neighbor's Garden, Little Feet, and One of Three. The first three stanzas of Advice, taken by themselves, would make a perfect poem. Besides a keen sympathy with nature, one discovers in several of the poems an undercurrent of sympathy with woman in her trials and sorrows which is strong and genuine, as if flowing from experience itself.

On glancing at the title-page of Mrs. Whitney's "Holy Tides," one might fancy that the title had in some way passed through a solar prism and come forth in the colors of the rainbow. The colored inks, in which the different words of the title appear, contribute to making a bright and attractive page. The poems are printed on but one side of the paper, each being prefaced by an appropriate Scripture text. The conception of this dainty little book is a very happy one, and its expression is that of a poetic mind. The

verses are full of a true religious feeling, and in spite of a certain stiffness which at times impedes the flow of the rhythm, they are everywhere thoughtful, and will not appeal to the devotional spirit in vain.

The poems in Professor Child's compilation are nearly all from well-known, and most of them from standard English and American, writers. Some of the titles are not those of the authors, and very often only so much of a poem has been taken as serves the compiler's purpose. But in this process of adaptation Professor Child has kept scrupulously within such limits as the Emperor Augustus allowed the editors of Virgil. He has added nothing, and changed nothing, but simply omitted. The book is a reprint of one that was issued twenty years ago, and if Professor Child were to take up the task *de novo*, he would, perhaps, make some changes and include some authors not here represented. The collection is an excellent one. The poetry, which is of a kind to stand the test of more than one score of years, has been gathered with taste and discrimination, and the book can hardly fail of its purpose.

Samuel V. Cole.

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#### GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

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*Das apostolische Zeitalter der Christlichen Kirche*, von Carl Weizsäcker, Prof. in Tübingen. 8vo, pp. viii., 698. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr. Price 14 Mks. One of the most important works of the year, and indispensable to the critical student of the apostolic age. It is written from the advanced liberal standpoint, and reconstructs the history in great part, using the Pauline Epistles as the basis, and treating the Acts as a source of the second rank. But the reconstruction is far superior to that of the old Tübingen school in that it does not rest so fully upon philosophical preconceptions. The book is in many respects thoroughly representative of the present state of historical criticism in Germany. — *Die Gleichnissreden Jesu*, von Dr. A. Jülicher. I. Hälfte; Allgemeiner Theil. 8vo, pp. 291. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr. Price 6 Mks. This work, when completed, promises to be in many respects a most important contribution to the literature upon this subject. The first part is merely introductory, discussing general questions, such as the genuineness, nature, object, value, etc., of the parables. The author writes from the advanced critical standpoint, and takes direct issue with the accounts of the evangelists in many points, and yet presents a very thorough discussion which demands careful attention. The discussion of the allegorical method of interpretation, against which the author makes a decided stand, is very important. — *Die Synoptischen Evangelien nach der Form ihres Inhaltes*. für das Studium der synoptischen Frage dargestellt und erläutert von C. Holsten, Prof. in Heidelberg. 8vo, pp. viii., 213. Heidelberg: K. Groos. Price 4 Mks. Interesting as an attempt to prove the priority of Matthew's Gospel and the direct dependence upon it of Mark and of Luke in the order named. An endeavor, therefore, to solve the synoptical problem without the assumption of an older source. The author thus stands opposed to the majority of modern German critics. The book presents a very thorough and detailed comparison of the Gospels, verse by verse, and makes, perhaps, as strong an argument as is possible. — *Kurzgefasster*



*Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments*, sowie zu den Apokryphen, herausgegeben von Proff. Hermann Strack in Berlin und Otto Zöckler in Greifswald. (In 12 Abtheilungen.) Nördlingen: C. H. Beck. A. Altes Testament, vierte Abtheilung, enthaltend die Propheten Jesaia und Jeremia, ausgelegt von Prof. von Orelli. 26 Bogen; 8vo. Price 5.50 Mks. B. Neues Testament, Erste und zweite Abtheilungen. 1. Die Evangelien nach Matt., Markus und Lukas, ausgelegt von Prof. C. F. Nörgen. Pp. xiv., 423. Price 5.50 Mks. 2. Das Evangelium nach Johannes und die Apostelgeschichte, erläutert von Proff. Luthardt und Zöckler. Pp. viii., 284. Price 4.50 Mks. This commentary aims to be brief, but scientific and critical, and meets a long-felt want. It is edited by men of the conservative orthodox school, and therefore the word "scientific" is not to be taken in the sense in which it is usually understood in connection with German theology. The work when completed will consist of twelve parts, eight for the Old and four for the New Testament. Only the above mentioned have as yet appeared. — *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, von H. J. Holtzmann, Prof. in Strassburg. 2. verb. u. verm. Auflage. Pp. xvi., 560. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr. Price 10 Mks. The second edition is substantially the same throughout as the first, which appeared over a year ago, and which is everywhere acknowledged to be a model text-book, furnishing the student with an immense amount of material in the most compact and convenient form possible. The well-known negative views of the author are never made conspicuous, are often, indeed, left unexpressed, and yet are never entirely concealed. — *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, von Bernhard Weiss, Prof. in Berlin. 8vo, pp. xiv., 643. Berlin: Hertz. Price 11 Mks. A very important contribution to the literature upon this subject, written from the well-known conservative and yet thoroughly critical standpoint of its author, and standing in many points in direct opposition to Holtzmann's Einleitung. The fundamental difference in their conceptions may be best given in Weiss's own words: "Holtzmann sagt in seiner Einleitung: das Christenthum ist sonach 'Buchreligion' von Anfang gewesen. Demgegenüber kann ich nur sagen: Gottlob, das dem nicht so war. In dieser Antithese fasst sich vielleicht am schärfsten der Gegensatz meiner Auffassung des Neuen Testaments zu der vieler neueren Kritischen Richtungen zusammen. Das Christenthum ist von Anfang an Leben gewesen; und weil dies Leben in seinen Urkunden pulsirt, können dieselben nicht aus 'literarischen Abhängigkeiten' erklärt und verstanden werden." The work is of especial interest and value just at this time. — *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, eine jüdische Apokalypse in christlichen Bearbeitung von Eberhard Vischer, mit einem Nachwort von Adolf Harnack. (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alt-christlichen Literatur: von O. von Gebhardt und A. Harnack. Bd. II., Heft 3.) Pp. 137. Leipzig: Hinrichs. Price 5 Mks. — *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, von Dr. Albert Hauck, Prof. in Erlangen. Erster Theil bis zum Tode des Bonifatius. Pp. 560. Leipzig: Hinrichs. Price 10.50 Mks. This work, which is to consist of three or four volumes, promises to be a most important contribution to church history. The present volume is a very full and complete investigation of the beginnings of Christianity in Germany, and is exceedingly valuable to all students of mediæval history. — *Das Leben Dr. August Tholucks*, dargestellt von Prof. Leopold Wittwe. Zweiter

Band. Leipzig und Bielefeld: Velhagen und Klasing. 1886. Price 8 Mks. This volume completes the long-awaited biography of Tholuck, and will be greeted with pleasure by all theologians, not only for its biographical interest, but also as a valuable contribution to the history of modern German theology. The author has had abundant opportunities for the successful prosecution of his work, and the result may be considered in most respects highly satisfactory. — *Die Apostellehre und die jüdischen Beiden Wege*: erweiterter Abdruck aus der Realencyklopädie für prot. Theol. und Kirche, nebst Texten; von Adolf Harnack. Pp. iv., 60. Price 1 Mk. Issued instead of a second edition of the author's original work upon the "Teaching." Brief but interesting, as exhibiting the author's present views, which in most respects remain unchanged. The independence of the first six chapters is, however, acknowledged, and their ground-work, "The Two Ways," is considered to have been originally a Jewish document. — *Hus', Luther's und Zwingli's Lehre von der Kirche*, mit Rücksicht auf das zwischen denselben bestehende Verhältniss der Verwandtschaft oder Abhängigkeit: von J. Gottschick, Prof. in Giessen. Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte: Band VIII., Heft 3, pp. 345–394, und Heft 4, pp. 543–616. The writer handles the subject very thoroughly, arriving at the conclusion, over against Krauss and others who have of late years investigated the same subject, that Luther's doctrine of the church in its essential points was developed independently of Huss, and that Zwingli's doctrine was based, not upon that of Huss, but upon that of Luther. The articles form an important contribution to the doctrinal history of the Reformation. — *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Konstantins d. Gr.*, von Victor Schultze, Prof. in Greifswald. Ibid. Band VII., Heft 3, pp. 343–371, und Bd. VIII., Heft 4, pp. 517–543. Two instructive articles which aim to vindicate Constantine's character and the trustworthiness of Eusebius.

*Harnack's Dogmengeschichte*, reviewed by A. Lasson of Berlin in the "Preussische Jahrbücher," October, 1886. The most careful review of Harnack's important book which has yet appeared; a thoroughly philosophical treatment of it.

Arthur C. McGiffert.

MARBURG, PRUSSIA.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

*Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.* Memoir of William Henry Channing. By Octavius Brooks Frothingham. Crown 8vo, pp. 486. 1886. \$2.00; — Memoirs of the Rev. J. Lewis Diman, D. D., Late Professor of History and Political Economy in Brown University. Compiled from his Letters, Journals, and Writings, and the Recollections of his Friends. By Caroline Hazard. Crown 8vo, pp. xii., 363. 1887. \$2.00; — Democracy and other Addresses. By James Russell Lowell. 16mo, pp. vi., 245. 1885. \$1.25; — In the Clouds. By Charles Egbert Craddock, Author of "In the Tennessee Mountains," "Down the Ravine," "The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains," etc.

*D. Lothrop & Co., Boston.* Graffenburg People. Fiction, but Fact. By Reuen Thomas. Pp. 291. \$1.25.

*Roberts Brothers, Boston.* Honoré De Balsac. Cousin Pons. 12mo, pp. 426. 1886. \$1.50; — Familiar Talks on Some of Shakspeare's Comedies. By

Elizabeth Wormeley Latimer. *The Winter's Tale, The Tempest, Midsummer Night's Dream, Taming of the Shrew, Much Ado about Nothing, As You Like It, Twelfth Night, The Merchant of Venice, Cymbeline.* 12mo, pp. viii., 445. 1886. \$2.00; — John Jerome: *His Thoughts and Ways.* A Book without Beginning. By Jean Ingelow, Author of "Off the Skelligs," "Fated to be Free," "Sarah de Berenger," "Don John." 16mo, pp. 266. 1886. \$1.25.

*Universalist Publishing House, Boston.* Universalism in America. A History. By Richard Eddy, D. D., President of the Universalist Historical Society; Member, and Late Librarian, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and Member of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Vol. ii. 1801-1886. Bibliography. Pp. vi., 634. 1886.

John B. Alden, *New York.* The Triumph of Life: A Biblical Study of God's Way with our Race. By Rev. Thos. Stoughton Potwin. Pp. 193. 1886.

Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Eminent Authors of the Nineteenth Century. Literary Portraits. By Dr. Georg Brandes. Translated from the Original by Rasmus B. Anderson, United States Minister to Denmark, Author of "Norse Mythology," "Viking Tales of the North," etc., etc. 12mo, pp. vii., 460. \$2.00; — Christ and Christianity. The Story of the Four (Evangelists). By the Rev. H. R. Haweis, M. A., Incumbent of St. James's Marylebone, Author of "Thoughts for the Times," etc., etc. 12mo, xxiv., 203. 1886. \$1.25.

Funk & Wagnalls, *New York.* The People's Bible: Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By Joseph Parker, D. D., Minister of the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, London. Author of "Ecce Deus," "The Paraclete," "The Priesthood of Christ," "Springdale Abbey," etc., etc. Vol. iv. Numbers xxvii.-Deuteronomy. Pp. iv., 412. 1886. \$1.50; — The Book of Revelation: An Exposition; based on the Principles of Professor Stuart's Commentary, and designed to familiarize those Principles to the Minds of Non-Professional Readers. By Israel P. Warren, D. D. 12mo, pp. 300. 1886. \$1.00.

Henry Holt & Co., *New York.* Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization. By Lewis H. Morgan, LL. D. Pp. xvi., 560. 1878.

Iverson, Blakeman, Taylor & Co., *New York and Chicago.* Principles of Hygiene for the School and the Home. Together with so much of Anatomy and Physiology as is necessary to the Correct Teaching of the Subject. By Ezra M. Hunt, A. M., M. D., Sc. D., Tenth President of the American Public Health Association, Secretary of the State Board of Health of New Jersey, and Instructor in Hygiene in the New Jersey State Normal School. 12mo, pp. 382. 1886. Price for Introduction 90 cents; — A Guide to Elementary Chemistry for Beginners. By Le Roy C. Cooley, Ph. D., Professor of Physics and Chemistry in Vassar College. Pp. xv., 300.

G. P. Putnam's Sons, *New York.* A Dictionary of the Targumin. The Talmud Babil and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. Compiled by M. Jastrow, Ph. D. Part I. ספרינו.

Charles Scribner's Sons, *New York.* The Messianic Prophecy. The Prediction of the Fulfillment of Redemption through the Messiah. A Critical Study of the Messianic Passages of the Old Testament in the Order of their Development. By Charles Augustus Briggs, D. D., Davenport Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages in the Union Theological Seminary, New York city. 8vo, pp. xx., 519. 1886. \$2.50; — The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre. By Henry M. Baird, Professor in the University of the City of New York, Author of the "History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France." With Maps. 2 vols., 8vo; vol. I., pp. xxii., 458; vol. II., pp. xvii., 525. 1886. \$5.00; — A History of the French Revolution. By H. Morse Stephens, Balliol College, Oxford. In Three Volumes. Vol. I., 8vo, pp. xxxiv., 530. 1886. \$2.50.

Scribner & Welford, *New York.* The Ignatian Epistles entirely Spurious. A Reply to the Right Rev. Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham. By W. D. Killen, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Principal of the Presbyterian Theological Faculty, Ireland. 16mo, pp. vi., 90. Edinburgh: T. & T.

Clark. 1886. \$1.00; — The Jewish and the Christian Messiah: A Study in the Earliest History of Christianity. By Vincent Henry Stanton, M. A., Fellow, Tutor, and Divinity Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge; Late Hulsean Lecturer. Pp. xvii., 394. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1886.

Thomas Whittaker, New York. A Handbook of Biblical Difficulties; or, Reasonable Solutions of Perplexing Things in Sacred Scripture. Edited by Rev. Robert Tuck, B. A. (London), Author of "The More Excellent Way," "First Three Kings of Israel," etc. 8vo, pp. ix., 568. 1886. \$2.50; — Religion: A Revelation and a Rule of Life. By the Rev. William Kirkus, M. A., LL. B., University of London; Rector of the Church of S. Michael and All Angels, Baltimore, Md. Small 8vo, pp. xx., 365. 1886. \$2.00; — Life of Christ in the World. Sermons. By the Rev. Arthur Brooks, Rector of the Church of the Incarnation, New York. 16mo, pp. vi., 360. 1887. \$1.50.

Zion's Watch Tower, Pittsburgh, Pa. Millennial Dawn. Vol. I. The Plan of the Ages. 16mo, pp. 351. 1886. \$1.00.

The American Publication Society of Hebrew, Chicago. An Arabic Manual. By J. G. Lansing, D. D., Gardner A. Sage Professor of Old Testament Languages and Exegesis in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church at New Brunswick, N. J. Pp. xv., 194. 1886. \$2.00.

A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. The Standard Oratorios. Their Stories, Their Music, and Their Composers. A Handbook. By George P. Upton, Author of "The Standard Operas," "Woman in Music," etc. 16mo, pp. 335. 1887. \$1.50.

Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London, England. The Temple of Humanity and Other Sermons. By H. N. Grimley, M. A., Rector of Norton, Suffolk, Late Professor of Mathematics in the University College of Wales, and Sometime Chaplain of Tremadoc; Author of "Tremadoc Sermons." Pp. viii., 293. 1886.



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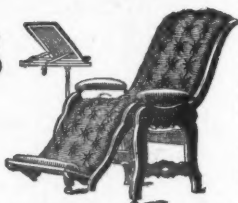
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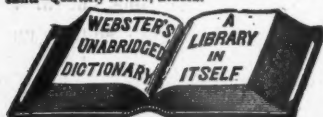
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